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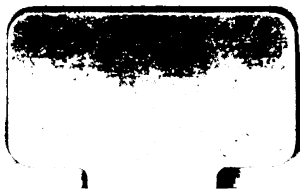
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Francis MacBarron



THE
CATILINA AND JUGURTHA
OF
SALLUST.

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THE
CATILINA AND JUGURTHA
OF
SALLUST,
WITH
NOTES AND EXCURSUS.

BY
THOMAS KEIGHTLEY.

LONDON:
WHITTAKER AND CO. AVE MARIA LANE.

1849.

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P R E F A C E.

THIS edition of an author who may be regarded as the most difficult among Latin prose-writers, will be found to differ from all its predecessors. From Corte to Kritz, the editors seem never to have reflected that Sallust was a historian as well as a writer of peculiar Latin. Hence their notes are almost exclusively occupied with the discussion of various readings and the illustration of phraseology, while history, geography, and constitutional and military antiquities are treated with neglect. These deficiencies it is my object to supply, without neglecting the matters on which they have treated at large.

The text is Orelli's in general, at times that of Kritz. The system of orthography is explained at the end of the first Excursus, which I would recommend to be read carefully before commencing the work. In my opinion, it would be the better course in schools to begin with the Jugurtha.

Every one knows how the Latin classics have been neglected in this country. Since the days of Bentley, none of them but Lucretius had been deemed worthy of the labours of an English scholar. Sallust shared the general fate till the year 1832, when the very neat edition by Mr. Allen appeared. But it is of the kind described above, and, therefore, does not preclude the necessity of that which I now offer to students.

It will be my last offer of the kind. The demand for such works is too limited to induce me to persevere in this path. Classical literature is on the decline, as appears to me, in general. It is already gone in France and Italy, it droops here, and, perhaps, even in Germany it has seen its most palmy days. To this is to be added the practice which, I am told, prevails in many schools, of giving boys the mere text of an author, or, at most, with brief notes, and then explaining it to them by *lecture*, instead of furnishing them with all the legitimate aids, and ascertaining by *examination* whether they have used them as they should have done. I am not perhaps qualified to judge, but the latter appears to me to be the better mode.

In taking my leave of schools and the classics, I may be perhaps allowed to indulge in a little self-gratulation at having done more to elucidate Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Sallust, than any preceding English scholar. My name may possibly be associated with theirs for some years to come. Yet I have been told by some that my Horace was not wanted, by others that nothing remained to be done on Sallust. *Judicet lector*. No one has said, I believe, that my Virgil and Ovid were superfluous.

As I regard my Horace as my *chef-d'œuvre* in this department, I have placed at the end of this volume some Additional Illustrations of it, which are, I think, not without value, but which I may never have the opportunity of inserting in the Commentary. In fine, I am content to be judged of, as a scholar and a critic, by my Horace and my Sallust.

T. K.

January, 15, 1849.

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LIFE OF SALLUST.

C. SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS was born at Amiternum¹, in the Vestinian portion of the Sabine country, on the Kalends of October, A. U. 666, the year of the consulate of C. Marius VII., L. Cinna II.² His family was respectable, but, as it was in all probability Sabine, those writers who say that it was plebeian, give us a piece of needless information, for none could be Roman patricians but those whose family had been such at least as far back as A. U. 250, when the Sabine Claudii were admitted into their body; all other citizens were, therefore, plebeians, inasmuch as they were admissible to the tribunate of the people, from which the patricians alone were excluded.

Sallust probably came to Rome for his education, as was usual, at an early age. If we may give credit to those writers who were his enemies, he plunged headlong into vice and debauchery, and speedily ran through his property³. We have it on better authority⁴, that he was one of the many who shared the favours of the notorious Fausta, the daughter of Sulla the dictator, and wife of T. Annius Milo, and, being taken in the fact by her husband, he underwent a severe scourging and was obliged to pay a sum of money to escape worse consequences. Notwithstanding these excesses, if real, he seems to have cultivated literature assiduously, for he gives us to understand⁵ that he had early formed the

¹ It lay in the mountains, not far from the source of the Aternus (Pescara).

² See Clinton's *Fasti*, a. 86. Sallust was, therefore, one year younger than Catullus, and nearly twenty-two years younger than Cicero.

³ Pseud.-Cic. In Sall. Declam. c. v.

⁴ Varro *ap. Gell.* xvii. 18.

⁵ Cat. iv. 2.

design of becoming a historian. He also entered the career of public honours, and is said ⁶, probably truly, as it seems to have been the usual course, to have been one of the quæstors. As the legal age for this office was thirty-one years, he could not have held it previously to A. U. 698, or later than the following year; for in 700 he was one of the tribunes of the people.

In this year occurred the death of the notorious P. Clodius, who was slain by Milo on the Appian Road. We have it on the best authority, that Sallust eagerly co-operated with his colleagues, Pompeius Rufus and Munatius Plancus, in exciting the rage of the populace against the slayer of their favourite ⁷. As Asconius, who gives us this information, says expressly ⁸ that he was Milo's enemy, and the story of his intrigue with Fausta gives an adequate cause for his being so, we think that it receives some confirmation from this fact. It was, however, suspected ⁹, that he and Pompeius made it up with Milo and with Cicero, against whom, as Milo's defender, they were also bitterly hostile; but this notion may have arisen only from the fact of their being less virulent than Plancus. In 702, Appius Claudius, and L. Piso, the father-in-law of Julius Cæsar, were censors, and the former, a violent political partizan, unimpeded by his colleague, made a rigorous purgation of the senate, expelling persons of all ranks and classes. Among these was Sallust ¹; the motive was beyond doubt political ², for Appius was of the high aristocratic party; the pretext may have been, as is said ³, the irregularity of Sallust's life.

The following year the war broke out between Cæsar and the aristocracy. Sallust, as might be expected, took the part of the former, and in the general restitution of their senatorian rank to those whom the censors had deprived of it ⁴, Sallust shared, being for this purpose, it is said ⁵, made Quæstor Urbanus a

⁶ Pseud.-Cic. *ut sup.*

⁷ Asconius on Cic. pro Mil. Argum. c. xvii. xviii. xxv.

⁸ On c. xvii.

⁹ Ascon. Argum.

¹ Dion. xl. 63.

² Id. ib.

³ Acron on Hor. Sat. i. 2, 48; Pseud.-Cic. c. vi.

⁴ Suet. Jul. 41.

⁵ Pseud.-Cic. c. vi.

second time. It would appear, that at this time Cæsar gave him a military command, for the name of Sallust occurs among the commanders of the Cæsarian troops which were defeated in Illyria by Octavius and Libo⁶. In 705 he was one of the prætors, and he hardly escaped with his life from the mutinous troops to whom Cæsar sent him in Campania⁷. When Cæsar passed over to Africa (706), Sallust commanded a division of the fleet, with orders to take possession of the isle of Cercina, in which the enemy had collected a large quantity of corn. In this he met with no opposition, and he laded the merchantmen which he found there with corn, and sent it to Cæsar's camp⁸.

When Cæsar was quitting Africa, after the conclusion of the war, he committed the government of the province into which he had formed Numidia, to Sallust as pro-consul⁹; his seat of government would appear to have been Zama, the residence of the late king, Juba. Sallust could not well have been much more than a year in Numidia¹, but during that period he is accused of plundering the province in the most merciless manner. On his return to Rome he was prosecuted for extortion (*rerum repetundarum*), but he was acquitted through the influence of Cæsar². After the death of his patron, the dictator, Sallust withdrew totally from public life, and devoted himself to literary composition. He laid out a park or gardens (*horti*) at the Quirinal hill, in which he would appear to have resided, and he is also said to have purchased a villa at Tibur, which had belonged to Cæsar³. It is further stated, but on slight authority, that he married Terentia, the divorced wife of Cicero⁴. Having no children of his own, he adopted the son or grandson of his sister, to whom he left his property⁵. He died on the III. Id.

⁶ Orosius vi. 15.

⁷ Dion. xlii. 52; Hist. of Rome, p. 438.

⁸ Auct. Bell. Afric. 3 and 34.

⁹ Id. 97.

¹ Cæsar left Africa on the Ides of June 706 (*Id.* 98), and he was slain on the Ides of March 708. It is probable, then, that the prosecution of Sallust took place in the latter half of 707.

² Dion. xliii. 9; Pseud.-Cic. c. vii.

³ Pseud.-Cic. *ib.*

⁴ Hieron. adv. Jovin. i. 48.

⁵ Tac. Ann. iii. 30.

Mai, 718, four years before the battle of Actium⁶, in the fifty-second year of his age.

Sallust is entitled to the praise of being the founder of Roman history. We have the express testimony of Cicero and Atticus⁷, that as yet the Romans did not possess a historian, Sisenna, the very best of their annalists, being only on a par with Clitarchus, one of the historians of Alexander the Great, a writer of a low grade. As we have seen, he had early formed the design of becoming a writer of Roman history; but among the ancients this was never the occupation of very young men, and Sallust, as soon as he was old enough for office, engaged in public affairs which occupied him till the death of Cæsar caused him to withdraw from public life, and to resume his literary pursuits. To these he devoted the remaining ten years of his life, selecting as his subjects some interesting portions of the events of the last century of the republic.

The first subject on which he exercised his pen was the conspiracy of Catilina, which had occurred when he was a young man of three-and-twenty. As he was then probably living at Rome, and was acquainted with, or at least had the opportunity of seeing and hearing, the leading men of the time, and of learning the actual and real course of events, he may be supposed to have been well qualified for that undertaking. It may be here observed, that as the suppression of this nefarious plot was the most glorious act of Cicero's life, Sallust's selection of this subject, and his treating it so impartially as he has done, proves either that the account of the enmity between him and Cicero is untrue, or grossly exaggerated; or that Sallust's generosity of temper, or regard for truth, was such as to prevent him from warring with the dead, which is also true of him with respect to Cato. We regard this as his earliest work, because as compared with the Jugurtha, it shows the hand of a less experienced writer, and because in it he mentions his early intention of writing history and the plan which he had adopted, makes an apology for

⁶ See Clinton, *Fasti*, a. 34 B. C.

⁷ See Cic. *De Legg.* i. 2.

the excesses of his younger days, and notices the inferiority of the Romans to the Greeks in historic composition. It further bears evidence that it was not written till after the death of the dictator, for Sallust would never have spoken of him in the past tense, and in the manner he does, if he were still living. There can be little doubt, also, that it was not published until after the death of Cicero. Probably none of the persons mentioned in it was then alive.

The Catilina was followed by the Jugurtha, which, partly from the subject, partly from Sallust's greater experience in composition, is far more agreeable and interesting. He collected the materials for this narrative, as it would appear, from the annalists, from the information which he obtained from books in the Punic language, and from personal inquiry and observation while he was in Africa. It is the only account remaining of the Jugurthine war.

Sallust next undertook a work of greater magnitude and importance, namely, a History, in five books, of the foreign and domestic affairs of Rome during the twelve years that elapsed between the death of Sulla (M. Lepido Q. Catulo coss. A. U. 674) and the commencement of Pompeius' operations against Mithridates (M. Lepido L. Tullo coss. A. U. 786)². To this he prefixed an introduction, treating of the government and state of morals in Rome at the time, with a brief view of the war between Sulla and the Marian party. He would seem to have intended it to be a continuation of the work of Sisenna, of whom he appears to have thought more highly than Cicero and his friend Atticus. It would also seem that he imitated the manner of Thucydides rather closely in this the most valuable of his works, the loss of which is greatly to be lamented. Four speeches and two letters, with some fragments of small magnitude, preserved by the quotation of grammarians, are all that remain of this work, which is said to have existed perfect in the Hebrides so late as the year 1526.

There are also remaining two orations, or more properly

² See Hist. of Rome, pp. 355—375.

epistles, *De re publica ordinanda*, addressed to Julius Cæsar, and a *Declamatio in Ciceronem*, ascribed to Sallust. The former, however, are evidently the work of a rhetorician, who followed the usual practice of composing, probably merely by way of exercise, pieces in the name and manner of some eminent writer of former times, and it is really interesting to observe how accurately on this occasion he has noticed and employed even the minute peculiarities of Sallust's style⁹, but to any one of critical discernment it is quite clear that the pieces are not from the pen of Sallust himself. The Declamation, on the other hand, has not the slightest colouring of the true Sallustian modes of expression, and we might reject it at once, were it not that Quintilian appears to have regarded it as genuine. He quotes two passages from a speech of Sallust against Cicero, which occur in the present Declamation¹, and from which it is evident he took them, and as it is, we may almost say, demonstrative that this piece is not genuine, it is only one proof among many of the deficiency of the ancients in critical tact and sagacity. This piece is accompanied by another Declamation of Cicero against Sallust, whose spuriousness is equally strong and evident.

Sallust was the first of the Romans, as far as we can learn, who wrote what is termed pragmatic history, that is, history in which the causes and consequences of events are traced, and the narrative presents the appearance of an organised body, all whose parts are connected—the only kind of history that possesses real utility. His model, it is evident, was Thucydides, the founder of this species of writing. From him he adopted the practice of interrupting the progress of the narration by digressions and reflections, of composing speeches for the leading personages instead of merely giving the substance of what they said, or were supposed to have said (and those which he gives

⁹ Another close imitator of the style of Sallust was the author of the work *De Bello Trojano*, which goes under the name of Dictys Cretensis.

¹ *Ut apud Sallustium in Ciceronem: O Romule Arpinas! ix. 3. Quid? Non Sallustius directo ad Ciceronem, in quem ipsum dicebat, usus est principio et quidem protinus? Graviter et iniquo animo maledicta tua paterer, M. Tulli.*

are admirable), and unfortunately, too, an extreme brevity of expression, often, as in the work of his prototype, productive of obscurity. This we cannot avoid regarding as a fault in both these great writers, and to a certain extent in their follower, Tacitus, for the example of the profound Macchiavelli proves that the greatest depth may be combined with the utmost lucidity.

This obscure brevity was objected to Sallust by his contemporaries, as also was his fondness for employing words and phrases which had become antiquated, and for coining new words, and using Greek forms and expressions. It was also objected, and we think with reason, that the introductions to his two extant pieces are inartificial, and without necessary connexion with the pieces to which they are prefixed. His style on the whole is, we think, too artificial, and is wanting in the dignified simplicity which is becoming to history. In many of his descriptions and narratives, we see the evident labour to produce effect. His moral reflections, too, are often introduced, not in the most appropriate manner ; they do not, like those of Tacitus, arise naturally, and appear, as it were, germane to the subject-matter. But this is owing probably to the different characters of the men ; the one, after a life of public and private irregularity, having assumed the office of a censor ; the other having had virtuous inclinations implanted in him by nature, and having improved them by sedulous culture. Among the innovations of Sallust in style, we may finally notice his introduction into historic composition, of what is termed the historic infinitive, and of forms of speech which appear to have been hitherto in use only among the poets ; in all which he has been imitated, but with more moderation, by Livy and Tacitus. On these, and other peculiarities of his style, we have treated elsewhere ².

It seems to have been a general opinion in antiquity that Sallust's moral character was not in complete accordance with the high tone of virtue assumed in his writings. In modern times,

² See Excursus I., on the style of Sallust.

as every thing has been submitted to re-examination, he has met with zealous defenders³. We therefore feel that it is necessary to state on what foundation the charges against him rest.

Respecting the affair with Fausta, the wife of Milo, Gellius writes thus : *M. Varro, in literis atque vita fide homo multa et gravis, in libro quem scripsit Pius aut De Pace, C. Sallustium scriptorem serice illius et severæ orationis, in cujus historia notiones censorias fieri atque exerceri videmus, in adulterio deprensum ab Annio Milone loris bene cæsum dicit et cum dedisset pecuniam dimissum*. Nothing, we think, can be more conclusive than this ; the testimony of Varro is beyond question ; and by M. Varro simply, could only be understood the most celebrated of that name. To obviate this, it is pretended that Gellius' memory may have deceived him, or that he may have meant some other Varro of inferior authority. But the advocate has not noticed the confirmation which this account receives from that which we have given above of Sallust's enmity to Milo, from Asconius, a writer above all suspicion ; for he had written a Life of Sallust. Lenæus, a freedman of Pompeius', after the death of his patron and his sons, kept a school at Rome. As Sallust in his History had said that Pompeius was *oris improbi, animo inverecondo*, the grateful freedman took up the cause of his deceased patron, and wrote a most bitter satire against the historian, in which he termed him *lastaurum et lurconem et nebulonem popinonemque et vita scriptisque monstrosum ; præterea priscorum Catonisque verborum ineruditissimum furem*⁴. Now, a contemporary satire would have no effect if it had not some foundation in truth, and as the charge against Sallust's style certainly had such, it is but reasonable to infer that the same was the case with those against his character.

The declamation of the Pseudo-Cicero is different. It is not contemporary, and to judge by its pendent, in which the most ungrounded charges are made against Cicero, its authority

³ In M. O. M. Müller, C. Sallustius Crispus (Leipzig, 1817), will be found every thing that has been, or perhaps can be, urged in favour of Sallust : see also Wieland on Hor. Sat. i. 2, 48.

⁴ Suet. De Illust. Gramm. 15.

should have no weight whatever, unless when corroborated by more trustworthy evidence.

Of Sallust's conduct in Numidia, this Pseudo-Cicero says : *Nonne ita provinciam vastavit ut nihil neque passi sint neque expectarint gravius socii nostri in bello quam experti sunt in pace, hoc Africam interiorem obtinente ? unde tantum hic exhausit quantum potuit aut fide nominum transjici aut in naves contrudi. Tantum inquam P. C. exhausit quantum voluit. Ne causam diceret sestertio duodecies cum Cæsare paciscitur.* This is evident exaggeration ; but Dion Cassius thus expresses himself on that subject : Καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας λαβὼν (Καῖσαρ) ἐς τε τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐπήγαγε, καὶ τῷ Σαλουστίῳ, λόγῳ μὲν, ἄρχειν, ἔργῳ δὲ, ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν, ἐπέτρεπεν. 'Αμίλει καὶ ἰδωροδόκῃσε πολλὰ καὶ ἥρπασεν' ὥστε καὶ κατηγορηθῆναι αἰσχύνῃν αἰσχίστην ὀφλῆσαι, ὅτι τοιαῦτα συγγράμματα συγγράψας, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πικρὰ περὶ τῶν ἑκαρπουμένων τινὰς εἰπὼν, οὐκ ἐμμήσατο τῷ ἔργῳ τοὺς λόγους. "Οθεν εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀφείθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀλλ' αὐτός γε ἑαυτὸν καὶ πάνν τῇ συγγραφῇ ἱστηλοκόπησε. Here we have the same account, but in a less exaggerated form, as in the Declamation. The advocates of Sallust say, some, that this was Dion's sole authority ; others, that the charge may be true, but that it was for Cæsar, and by his orders, and not for himself, that he plundered. To this it may be replied that this was not Cæsar's mode of proceeding. What he did he did openly, and in no circuitous way. On the whole, we think the fact is certain, though it has been exaggerated, even by Dion, who, as his accounts of Cicero and Seneca show, loved to lower the characters of public men who had cultivated literature. At the same time the plunder was probably far less than is usually supposed. Numidia was not a rich country ; it had been pretty well drained of its wealth by Cæsar himself ; Sallust could not have been there much more than a year, and, as we shall see, his celebrated gardens were not by any means so costly and so magnificent as might appear from the usual ideas respecting them.

The Scholiasts on Horace say that the Sallustius, mentioned in the second satire of the first book, was the historian. But of this there is little probability. That satire is one of the ear-

liest, and written probably before the poet's acquaintance with Mæcenas, *i. e.* before 713, and as he speaks in the present tense, we can hardly suppose Sallust at his time of life, and when standing forth in his writings as a kind of public censor, to have been so devoid of shame as to be so conspicuous for his gallantries, that he should serve to "point a moral." Besides the *Matronam nullam ego tango* was hardly suitable to the quondam lover of Fausta. Some critics, therefore, suppose that it was the nephew and heir of Sallust that was meant; but as he died A.U. 773 (Varr.), *i. e.* nearly sixty years after this satire was written, he was probably too young at that time to have been so notorious a spendthrift, especially as his uncle was still living. We, therefore, as we hinted in our note on that place, think that it was a totally different Sallust that the poet had in his mind, for the name was not by any means uncommon.

In conclusion we must say a few words about the celebrated gardens of Sallust.

The only gardens (*horti*) of any note, mentioned during the time of the republic, near Rome, were those of Lucullus on the Collis Hortulorum, or Pincian Hill. Cæsar then formed gardens beyond the Tiber, opposite the land below the Aventine. The third were those of Sallust, situated in the valley between the Quirinal and the Pincian Hills, probably under the church of Sta. Susanna.

By *horti* (always plural) the Romans understood an inclosure planted with trees, and laid out in walks, just as we use our word gardens, when we speak of Kew or Kensington Gardens. The word employed by the modern Italians is *Villa*, as the Villa Borghese, Villa Doria-Pamfili at Rome, and the Villa Reale at Naples. In these *horti* there was a house (like the *casino* in the villa), probably of no great dimensions, and used chiefly in the summer, and at first, as it would seem, nothing more. To form, therefore, gardens of this kind, would not require any very extraordinary outlay of money, and the purchase of the ground in that remote situation might not have come to any thing very considerable, if indeed, Cæsar did not give him the ground. We hear, no doubt,

of a Forum, a Circus, a Portico, etc. in Sallust's gardens ; but these were things utterly incompatible with the idea of *horti* in Sallust's time, and we are moreover to recollect that those of Sallust afterwards came into the possession of the emperors, by whom these additions may have been made ; and further, that the district about them was probably named from the gardens, and so the Forum may have lain outside of them. As for the Circus, it, like that of Flora, is a mere dream of the antiquarians. The Emperor Vespasian, whose tastes were so simple, used to live in the gardens (and house of course) of Sallust in preference to the palace on the Palatine ; Nerva, whose tastes were similar, spent his last days in these gardens ; Aurelian, another emperor who disliked luxury, also preferred for his residence, when at Rome, the retired Sallustian Gardens to the imperial palace. At no time probably, much less in Sallust's own time, could they well have been the abode, or the scene of luxury, and Sallust may have led in them a very modest and retired life.

C. SALLUSTI CRISPI

C A T I L I N A.

I. OMNIS homines, qui sese student præstare ceteris 1
animalibus, summa ope niti decet, ne vitam silentio
transeant veluti pecora, quæ natura prona atque ven-
tri obedientia finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo 2
et corpore sita est; animi imperio, corporis servitio
magis utimur; alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum
beluis commune est. Quo mihi rectius videtur ingeni 3
quam virium opibus gloriam quærere et, quoniam
vita ipsa qua fruimur brevis est, memoriam nostri
quam maxime longam efficere. Nam divitiarum et 4
formæ gloria fluxa atque fragilis est, virtus clara
æternaque habetur. Sed diu magnum inter mortalis 5
certamen fuit, vine corporis an virtute animi res mili-
taris magis procederet. Nam et prius quam incipias 6
consulto, et ubi consulueris mature facto opus est.
Ita utrumque per se indigens, alterum alterius auxi- 7
lio eget.

II. Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen imperi 1
id primum fuit), divorsi pars ingenium, alii corpus
exercebant; etiamtum vita hominum sine cupiditate
agitabatur, sua cuique satis placebant. Postea vero 2
quam in Asia Cyrus, in Græcia Lacedæmonii et
Athenienses cœpere urbis atque nationes subigere,
lubidinem dominandi causam belli habere, maxumam
gloriam in maximo imperio putare, tum demum pe-
riculo atque negotiis compertum est in bello plurimum
ingenium posse. Quodsi regum atque imperatorum 3
animi virtus in pace ita ut in bello valeret, æquabi-

B

lius atque constantius sese res humanæ haberent, neque aliud alio ferri, neque mutari ac misceri omnia
4 cerneres. Nam imperium facile his artibus retinetur,
5 quibus initio partum est. Verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et æquitate lubido atque
superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus inmu-
6 tatur. Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque
7 a minus bono transfertur. Quæ homines arant, navi-
8 gant, ædificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales dediti ventri atque somno, indocti inculti-
que vitam sicuti peregrinantes transiere; quibus profecto contra naturam corpus voluptati, anima
oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta æstu-
9 mo, quoniam de utraque siletur. Verum enimvero is demum mihi vivere atque frui anima videtur, qui
aliquo negotio intentus præclari facinoris aut artis
10 bonæ famam quærit. Sed in magna copia rerum aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

1 III. Pulchrum est bene facere rei publicæ; etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est; vel pace vel bello
clarum fieri licet; et qui fecere et qui facta aliorum
2 scripsere, multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tametsi haudquaquam par gloria sequitur scriptorem et auc-
torem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere; primum quod facta dictis exæquanda
sunt, dehinc quia plerique, quæ delicta reprehenderis, malivolentia et invidia dicta putant; ubi de magna
virtute atque gloria bonorum memores, quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat, æquo animo accipit, supra
3 ea veluti ficta pro falsis ducit. Sed ego adulescentulus initio sicuti plerique studio ad rem publicam
latus sum, ibique mihi multa advorsa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute, audacia,
4 largitio, avaritia vigeabant. Quæ tametsi animus aspernabatur, insolens malarum artium, tamen inter
tanta vitia imbecilla ætas ambitione corrupta teneba-
5 tur: ac me, quom ab reliquis malis moribus dissen- tirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido eadem qua ceteros
fama atque invidia vexabat.

1 IV. Igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque

periculis requievit et mihi reliquam ætatem a re publica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium socordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere; neque vero agrum colendo aut venando, servilibus officiis, intentum ætatem agere; sed a quo incepto studioque 2 me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quæque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere; eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus rei publicæ animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinæ conjuratione quam veris- 3 sume potero paucis absolvam: nam id facinus in 4 primis ego memorabile existumo sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cujus hominis moribus pauca prius 5 explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam.

V. Lucius Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit mag- 1 na vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adulescentia bella intestina, cædes, rapinæ, 2 discordia civilis grata fuere, ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediæ, alboris, vigiliæ, 3 supra quam cuiquam credibile est. Animus audax, 4 subdolos, varius, cujus rei lubet simulator ac dissimulatores, alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus; satis eloquentiæ, sapientiæ parum. Vas- 5 tus animus inmoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc post dominationem Luci Sullæ libido 6 maxuma invaserat rei publicæ capiundæ, neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quidquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magis- 7 que in dies animus ferox inopia rei familiaris et conscientia scelerum, quæ utraque his artibus aux- 8 erat, quas supra memoravi. Incitabant præterea 8 corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessuma ac divorsa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. Res 9 ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, supra repetere ac paucis instituta majorum domi militiæque, quomodo rem publicam habuerint quantamque reliquerint, ut paullatim inmutata ex pulcherruma pessuma ac flagitiosissima facta sit, disserere.

1 VI. Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere
atque habuere initio Trojani, qui Ænea duce profugi
sedibus incertis vagabantur, cumque his Aborigines,
2 genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio,
liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una mœnia
convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alius alio
more viventes, incredibile memoratu est quam facile
3 coaluerint. Sed postquam res eorum civibus, mori-
bus, agris aucta, satis prospera satisque pollens vide-
batur, sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia
4 ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique fini-
tumi bello temptare, pauci ex amicis auxilio esse ;
5 nam ceteri metu perculsi a periculis aberant. At
Romani domi militiæque intenti festinare, parare,
alius alium hortari, hostibus obviam ire, libertatem,
patriam parentesque armis tegere. Post, ubi peri-
cula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia
portabant, magisque dandis quam accipiundis bene-
6 ficiis amicitias parabant. Imperium legitimum, no-
men imperi regium habebant ; delecti, quibus corpus
annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum erat, rei
publicæ consultabant ; hi vel ætate vel curæ simili-
7 tudine patres adpellabantur. Post, ubi regium im-
perium, quod initio conservandæ libertatis atque
augendæ rei publicæ fuerat, in superbiam dominatio-
nemque convortit, inmutato more annua imperia
binosque imperatores sibi fecere ; eo modo minime
posse putabant per licentiam inolescere animum
humanum.

• 1 VII. Sed ea tempestate cœpere se quisque magis
extollere magisque ingenium in promptu habere.
2 Nam regibus boni quam mali suspiciores sunt, sem-
3 perque his aliena virtus formidolosa est. Sed civitas
incredibile memoratu est adepta libertate quantum
4 brevi creverit ; tanta cupido gloriæ incesserat. Jam
primum juvenus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in
castris per laborem usu militiam discebat, magisque
in decoris armis et militaribus equis quam in scortis
5 atque conviviis lubidinem habebant. Igitur talibus

viris non labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus; virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriæ maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat: sic se quisque hostem ferire, murum adscendere, conspici, dum tale facinus faceret, properabat; eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant; laudis avidi, pecuniæ liberales erant; gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis maxumas hostium copias populus Romanus parva manu fuderit, quas urbis natura munitas pugnando ceperit, ni ea res longius nos ab incepto traheret.

VIII. Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex lubricine [magis] quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestæ, sicuti 2 ego æstumo, satis amplæ magnificæque fuere, verum aliquanto minores tamen quam fama feruntur. Sed 3 quia provenire ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. Ita eorum, qui ea fecere, virtus tanta 4 habetur, quantum ea verbis potuere extollere præclara ingenia. At populo Romano nunquam ea 5 copia fuit, quia prudentissimus quisque maxime negotiosus erat; ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat; optumus quisque facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis bene facta laudari quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.

IX. Igitur domi militiæque boni mores colebantur, 1 concordia maxuma, minuma avaritia erat, jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat. Jurgia, discordias, simultates cum hostibus exercebant, cives cum civibus de virtute certabant; in suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicis fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax 3 evenerat æquitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxuma documenta hæc habeo, 4 quod in bello sæpius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant, quique tardius revocati proelio excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere aut pulsi loco cedere ausi erant; in pace vero, 5

quod beneficiis quam metu imperium agitabant, et accepta injuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant.

- 1 X. Sed ubi labore atque justitia res publica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes feræ et populi ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, æmula imperi Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terræque patebant,
- 2 sævire fortuna ac miscere omnia cœpit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, his otium, divitiæ optandæ aliis oneri miseriæque
- 3 fuere. Igitur primo pecuniæ, deinde imperi cupido crevit; ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere.
- 4 Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem ceterasque artis bonas subvortit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem,
- 5 deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere edocuit. Ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit, aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere, amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re, sed ex commodo
- 6 habere. Hæc primo paullatim crescere, interdum vindicari; post, ubi contagio quasi pestilentia invasit, civitas inmutata, imperium ex justissimo atque optimo crudele intolerandumque factum.

- 1 XI. Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat, quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium bonus et ignavos æque sibi exoptant; sed ille vera via nititur, huic quia bonæ artes desunt, dolis atque
- 3 fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniæ studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit; ea quasi venenis malis inbuta corpus animumque virilem effeminat, semper infinita, insatiabilis est, neque copia neque
- 4 inopia minuitur. Sed postquam L. Sulla, armis recepta re publica, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit, rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius, alius agros cupere, neque modum neque modestiam victores habere, fœda crudeliaque in civibus facinora facere.
- 5 Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat; loca amoena, voluptaria facile in otio ferocis militum

animos molliverant. Ibi primum insuevit exercitus 6
populi Romani amare, potare, signa, tabulas pictas,
vasa cœlata mirari, ea privatim et publice rapere,
delubra spoliare, sacra profanaque omnia polluere.
Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, 7
nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundæ res sapi- 8
entium animos fatigant; ne illi corruptis moribus
victoriæ temperarent.

XII. Postquam divitiæ honori esse cœpere et eas 1
gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur, hebescere
virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro
malivolentia duci cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juven- 2
tutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasere;
rapere, consumere, sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere,
pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana pro-
miscua, nihil pensi neque moderati habere. Operæ 3
pretium est, quom domos atque villas cognoveris in
urbium modum exædificatas, visere templa deorum,
quæ nostri majores, religiosissimi mortales, fecere.
Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas 4
gloria decorabant, neque victis quidquam præter
injuriam licentiam eripiebant. At hi contra igna- 5
vissimi homines per summum scelus omnia ea sociis
adimere, quæ fortissimi viri victores hostibus reli-
querant; proinde quasi injuriam facere id demum
esset imperio uti.

XIII. Nam quid ea memorem, quæ nisi his qui 1
videre nemini credibilia sunt, a privatis compluribus
subvorsos montis, maria constructa esse. Quibus 2
mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiæ; quippe quas
honeste habere licebat, abuti per turpitudinem
properabant. Sed libido stupri, ganæ ceterique 3
cultus non minor incesserat; viri muliebria pati,
mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere; vescendi
causa terra marique omnia exquirere, dormire prius
quam somni cupido esset, non famem aut sitim
neque frigus neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea
omnia luxu antecapere. Hæc juventutem, ubi fami- 4
liares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant;

animus inbutus malis artibus haud facile lubricinibus carebat; eo profusius omnibus modis quæstui atque sumptui deditus erat.

- 1 XIV. In tanta tamque corrupta civitate Catilina,
id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitiorum
atque facinorum circum se tamquam stipatorum
2 catervas habebat. Nam quicumque inpudicus, adul-
ter, ganeo manu, ventre, pene bona patria lacera-
verat, quique alienum æs grande conflaverat, quo
flagitium aut facinus redimeret, præterea omnes
3 undique parricidæ, sacrilegi, convicti judiciis aut pro
factis iudicium timentes, ad hoc quos manus atque
lingua perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat, postremo
omnes, quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus
exagitabat, hi Catilinæ proximi familiaresque erant.
- 4 Quodsi quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam ejus
inciderat, cotidiano usu atque inlecebris facile par
5 similisque ceteris efficiebatur. Sed maxime adu-
lescentium familiaritates adpetebat; eorum animi
molles et ætate fluxi dolis haud difficulter capie-
6 bantur. Nam ut cujusque studium ex ætate flagra-
bat, aliis scorta præbere, aliis canes atque equos
mercari, postremo neque sumptui neque modestiæ
sue parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret.
- 7 Scio fuisse nonnullos qui ita existumarent, juventutem,
quæ domum Catilinæ frequentabat, parum honeste
pudicitiam habuisse; sed ex aliis rebus magis quam
quod cuiquam id compertum foret, hæc fama valebat.
- 1 XV. Jam primum adulescens Catilina multa ne-
fanda stupra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacer-
2 dote Vestæ, alia hujusmodi contra jus fasque. Pos-
tremo captus amore Aureliæ Orestillæ, cujus præter
formam nihil unquam bonus laudavit, quod ea
nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adulta
ætate, pro certo creditur necato filio vacuum domum
3 scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quæ quidem res mihi in
primis videtur causa fuisse facinoris maturandi;
4 namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque infestus,
neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat; ita

conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. Igitur colos 5
exsanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo, modo tardus
incessus; prorsus in facie voltuque vecordia inerat.

XVI. Sed juventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, 1
inlexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat.
Ex illis testes signatoresque falsos commodare; 2
fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere, post, ubi
eorum famam atque pudorem adtriverat, majora alia
imperabat; si causa peccandi in præsens minus suppe- 3
tebat, nihilo minus insontis sicuti sontis circumvenire,
jugulare; scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus
aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis
erat. His amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul 4
quod æs alienum per omnis terras ingens erat, et
quod plerique Sullani milites, largius suo usu, rapi-
narum et victoriæ veteris memores civile bellum
exoptabant, opprimundæ rei publicæ consilium cepit.
In Italia nullus exercitus; Cn. Pompeius in extremis 5
terrīs bellum gerebat; ipsi consulatum petenti magna
spes; senatus nihil sane intentus; tutæ tranquillæque
res omnes; sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinæ.

XVII. Igitur circiter Kalendas Junias, L. Cæsare 1
et C. Figulo consulibus, primo singulos adpellare,
hortari alios, alios temptare; opes suas, inparatam
rem publicam, magna præmia conjurationis docere.
Ubi satis explorata sunt quæ voluit, in unum omnis 2
convocat, quibus maxuma necessitudo et plurimum
audaciæ inerat. Eo convenere senatorii ordinis 3
P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus,
C. Cethegus, P. et Servius Sullæ, Servi filii, L. Var-
gunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Læca, L. Bestia,
Q. Curius; præterea ex equestri ordine M. Fulvius 4
Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Corne-
lius; ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis, domi
nobiles. Erant præterea complures paullo occultius 5
consili hujusce participes nobiles, quos magis domi-
nationis spes hortabatur quam inopia aut aliqua
necessitudo. Ceterum juvenus pleraque, sed maxime 6
nobilium, Catilinæ inceptis favebat; quibus in otio
vel magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta

- 7 pro certis, bellum quam pacem malebant. Fuere item ea tempestate qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consili fuisse; quia Cn. Pompeius invisus ipsi magnum exercitum ductabat, cujusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere, simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.
- 1 XVIII. Sed antea item conjuravere pauci contra rem publicam, in quibus Catilina fuit; de qua quam
2 verissime potero, dicam. L. Tullo et M. Lepido consulibus, P. Autronius et P. Sulla designati consules, legibus ambitus interrogati poenas dederant.
3 Post paullo Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere, quod intra legi-
4 tumos dies profiteri nequiverat. Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adulescens nobilis, summæ audaciæ, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rem pub-
5 licam inopiâ atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc Catilina et Autronius circiter Nonas Decembris consilio communicato parabant in Capitolio Kalendis Januariis L. Cottam et L. Torquatum consules interficere, ipsi fascibus conreptis Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias mittere.
6 Ea re cognita, rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium
7 cædis transtulerant. Jam tum non consulibus modo, sed plerisque senatoribus perniciem machinabantur.
8 Quodni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum sociis dare, eo die post conditam urbem Romam pessimum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium diremit.
- 1 XIX. Postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam quæstor pro prætore missus est, adnitente Crasso, quod eum
2 infestum inimicum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat; quippe
3 fœdum hominem a re publica procul esse volebat; simul quia boni conplures præsidium in eo putabant,
4 et jam tum potentia Pompei formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso in provincia ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in
5 exercitu ductabat, iter faciens occisus est. Sunt qui ita dicunt, imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia

barbaros nequivisse pati; alii autem equites illos 5
Cn. Pompei veteres fidosque clientis voluntate ejus
Pisonem adgressos; nunquam Hispanos præterea
tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia sæva multa ante
perpessos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquemus. 6
De superiore conjuratione satis dictum.

XX. Catilina, ubi eos, quos paullo ante memoravi, 1
convenisse videt, tametsi cum singulis multa sæpe
egerat, tamen in rem fore credens universos adpellare
et cohortari, in abditam partem ædium secedit,
atque ibi, omnibus arbitris procul amotis, orationem
hujuscemodi habuit:

Ni virtus fidesque vostra spectata mihi forent, 2
nequidquam opportuna res cecidisset, spes magna,
dominatio in manibus frustra fuissent; neque ego
per ignaviam aut vana ingenia incerta pro certis
captarem. Sed quia multis et magnis tempestatibus 3
vos cognovi fortis fidosque mihi, eo animus ausus est
maximum atque pulcherrimum facinus incipere,
simul quia vobis eadem quæ mihi bona malaque
esse intellexi; nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea 4
demum firma amicitia est. Sed ego quæ mente agitavi 5
omnes jam antea divorsi audistis. Ceterum mihi in 6
dies magis animus accenditur, quomodo considero, quæ
condicio vitæ futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus
in libertatem. Nam postquam res publica in pau- 7
corum potentium jus atque dicionem concessit, sem-
per illis reges, tetrarchæ vectigales esse, populi,
nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui,
boni, nobiles atque ignobiles vulgus fuimus sine
gratia, sine auctoritate, iis obnoxii, quibus, si res
publica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis 8
gratia, potentia, honos, divitiæ apud illos sunt, aut
ubi illi volunt; nobis reliquere pericula, repulsas,
judicia, egestatem. Quæ quousque tandem patiemini 9
fortissimi viri? Nonne emori per virtutem præstat
quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienæ
superbiæ ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere?
Verum enimvero pro deum atque hominum fidem 10
victoria in manu nobis est, viget ætas, animus valet;

- contra illis annis atque divitiis omnia consenuerunt. Tantummodo incepto opus est; cetera res expedit.
- 11 Etenim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium est, tolerare potest, illis divitias superare, quas profundant in exstruendo mari et montibus cœquandis, nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas aut amplius domos continuare, nobis larem
- 12 familiarem nusquam ullum esse? Quom tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia ædificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt vexant, tamen summa lubidine divitias [suas] vincere ne-
- 13 queunt. At nobis est domi inopia, foris æs alienum, mala res, spes multo asperior; denique quid reliqui
- 14 habemus præter miseram animam? Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa, illa, quam sæpe optastis, libertas, præterea divitiæ, decus, gloria in oculis sita sunt. Fortuna omnia ea victoribus præmia
- 15 posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica magis quam oratio mea vos hortentur.
- 16 Vel imperatore vel milite utimini; neque animus
- 17 neque corpus a vobis aberit. Hæc ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam, nisi forte me animus fallit, et vos servire magis quam imperare parati estis.
- 1 XXI. Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res neque spes bona ulla, tametsi illis quieta movere magna merces videbatur, tamen postulavere plerique, uti proponeret, quæ condicio belli foret, quæ præmia armis
- 2 peterent, quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia,
- 3 quæ bellum atque libido victorum fert. Præterea esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consili sui participes; petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum; cum eo
- 4 se consulem initium agundi facturum. Ad hoc maledictis increpat omnis bonos, suorum unum

quemque nominans laudare; admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suæ, compluris periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanæ, quibus ea prædæ fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacris 5 videt, cohortatus, ut petitionem suam curæ haberent, conventum dimisit.

XXII. Fuere ea tempestate qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habita, quom ad iurjurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse; inde quom 2 post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in sollemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, atque eo, dictitare, fecisse, quo inter se magis fidi forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Non 3 nulli ficta et hæc et multa præterea existumabant ab iis, qui Ciceronis invidiam, quæ postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui poenas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

XXIII. Sed in ea conjuratione fuit Q. Curius, 1 natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus, quem censores senatu probri gratia moverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat quam 2 audacia; neque reticere quæ audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare, prorsus neque dicere neque facere quidquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo; cui quom minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat; repente glorians maria montisque polliceri cœpit et minari interdum ferro, ni sibi obnoxia foret, postremo ferocius agitare quam solitus erat. At 4 Fulvia, insolentiae Curi causa cognita, tale periculum rei publicæ haud occultum habuit, sed sublato auctore de Catilinæ conjuratione quæ quoque modo audierat compluribus narravit. Ea res in primis 5 studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas 6 invidia æstuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum quamvis egregius homo novos adeptus

foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere.

- 1 XXIV. Igitur comitiis habitis consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius, quod factum primo
- 2 popularis conjurationis concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinæ furor minuebatur, sed in dies plura agitare, arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare, pecuniam sua aut amicorum fide sumptam mutuam Fæsulas ad Manlium quendam portare, qui postea princeps fuit
- 3 belli faciundi. Ea tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines adscivisse sibi dicitur, mulieres etiam aliquot, quæ primo ingentis sumptus stupro corporis toleraverant, post ubi ætas tantummodo quæstui neque luxuriæ modum fecerat, æs alienum
- 4 grande conflaverant. Per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi vel interficere.

- 1 XXV. Sed in his erat Sempronia, quæ multa sæpe
- 2 virilis audaciæ facinora commiserat. Hæc mulier genere atque forma, præterea viro, liberis satis fortunata fuit; litteris Græcis et Latinis docta, psallere, saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probæ, multa
- 3 alia, quæ instrumenta luxuriæ sunt. Sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit; pecuniæ an famæ minus parceret, haud facile discerneret; lubidine sic accensa, ut sæpius peteret viros
- 4 quam peteretur. Sed ea sæpe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abjuraverat, cædis conscia fuerat,
- 5 luxuria atque inopia præceps abierat. Verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum; posse versus facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procaci; prorsus multæ facetiæ multusque lepos inerat.

- 1 XXVI. His rebus comparatis Catilina nibilo minus in proximum annum consulatum petebat, sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio
- 2 usurum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen
- 3 ad cavendum dolus aut astutiæ deerant. Namque a principio consulatus sui multa pollicendo per Fulviam

effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paullo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinæ sibi proderet. Ad hoc collegam 4 suum Antonium pactione provinciæ perpulerat, ne contra rem publicam sentiret; circum se præsidia amicorum atque clientium occulte habebat. Post- 5 quam dies comitiorum venit, et Catilinæ neque petiti- 6 o neque insidiæ, quas consuli in Campo fecerat, prospere cessere, constituit bellum facere et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam quæ occulte temptaverat aspera fœdaque evenerant.

XXVII. Igitur C. Manlium Fæsulas atque in eam 1 partem Etruriæ, Septimium quendam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Julium in Apuliam dimisit; præterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat. Interea Romæ multa simul moliri, 2 consuli insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere, ipse cum telo esse, item alios jubere, hortari, uti semper intenti parati- 3 que essent, dies noctisque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo ubi multa 3 agitati nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte conjurationis principes convocat per M. Porcium Læcam, ibique multa de ignavia eorum questus, docet 4 se Manlium præmisisse ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat, item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent, seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppres- 5 sisset; eum suis consiliis multum obficere.

XXVIII. Igitur perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris, 1 C. Cornelius eques Romanus operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L. Vargunteius senator constituere ea nocte paullo post cum armatis hominibus sicuti salutatum introire ad Ciceronem ac de improviso domi suæ inparatum confodere. Curius ubi intellegit, 2 quantum periculum consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum, qui parabatur, enuntiat. Ita illi janua prohibiti tantum facinus frustra susce- 3 perant. Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul ac dolore injuriæ novarum rerum 4

cupidam, quod Sullæ dominatione agros bonaque omnia amiserat, præterea latrones cujusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat, nonnullos ex Sullanis colonis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

1 XXIX. Ea quom Ciceroni nuntiarentur, ancipiti
malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis privato
consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Mânli
quantus aut quo consilio foret satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum refert, jam antea volgi rumoribus
2 exagitata. Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci
negotio solet, senatus decrevit, darent operam consules,
3 ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. Ea potestas per senatum more Romano magistratui
maxima permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere,
coercere omnibus modis socios atque civis, domi militiæque imperium atque iudicium summum habere;
aliter sine populi jussu nulli earum rerum consilium
4 est.

1 XXX. Post paucos dies L. Sænius senator in senatu
litteras recitavit, quas Fæsulis adlatas sibi dicebat, in
quibus scriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepisse cum
magna multitudine ante diem VI. Kalendas Novembris.
2 Simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta
atque prodigia nuntiabant, alii conventus fieri, arma
portari, Capuæ atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri.
3 Igitur senati decreto Q. Marcius Rex Fæsulas, Q.
Metellus Creticus in Apuliam circumque ea loca
4 missi; hi utrique ad urbem imperatores erant, inpediti ne triumpharent calumnia paucorum, quibus
omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat.
5 Sed prætores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus
Celer in agrum Picenum; hisque permissum, uti
pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent.
6 Ad hoc, si quis indicavisset de conjuratione, quæ
contra rem publicam facta erat, præmium servo libertatem
et sestertia centum, libero inquitatem ejus
7 rei et sestertia ducenta; itemque decrevere, uti gladiatoris
familie Capuam et in cetera municipia dis-

tribuerentur pro cuiusque opibus, Romæ per totam urbem vigiliæ haberentur, iisque minores magistratus præessent.

XXXI. Quibus rebus permota civitas atque immu- 1
tata urbis facies erat; ex summa lætitia atque lasciv-
ia, quæ diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnis
tristitia invasit; festinare, trepidare, neque loco 2
neque homini cuiquam satis credere, neque bellum
gerere, neque pacem habere, suo quisque metu peri-
cula metiri. Ad hoc mulieres, quibus rei publicæ 3
magnitudine belli timor insolitus incesserat, afflictare
sese, manus supplices ad cælum tendere, miserari
parvos liberos, rogitare, omnia pavere, superbia atque
deliciis omissis sibi patriæque diffidere. At Catilinæ 4
crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametsi præsi-
dia parabantur et ipse lege Plautia interrogatus erat
ab L. Paullo. Postremo dissimulandi causa aut sui 5
expurgandi, sicuti jurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum
venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive præsentiam ejus 6
timens sive ira conmotus, orationem habuit luculen-
tam atque utilem rei publicæ, quam postea scriptam
edidit. Sed ubi ille adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus 7
ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso vultu, voce supplici
postulare, Patres Conscripti ne quid de se temere
crederent; ea familia ortum, ita se ab adolescentia
vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet; ne
existumarent, sibi, patricio homini, cuius ipsius atque
majorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam
essent, perdita re publica opus esse, quom eam ser-
varet M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romæ. Ad 8
hoc maledicta alia quom adderet, obstrepere omnes,
hostem atque parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibun- 9
dus: Quoniam quidem circumventus, inquit, ab
inimicis præceps agor, incendium meum ruina restin-
guam.

XXXII. Dein se ex curia domum proripuit; ibi 1
multa ipse secum volvens, quod neque insidiæ consuli
procedebant et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis
munitam, optimum factum credens exercitum augere
ac prius quam legiones scriberentur, [multa] anteca-

pere quæ bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum
 2 paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego
 atque Lentulo ceterisque, quorum cognoverat promptam
 audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus possent opes
 factionis confirment, insidias consuli maturent, cædem,
 incendia aliaque belli facinora parent; sese propediem
 cum magnu exercito ad urbem accessurum.
 3 Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero
 legatos ad Marcium Regem mittit cum mandatis
 hujuscemodi:

1 XXXIII. Deos hominesque testamur, imperator,
 nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quo
 periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab
 injuria tuta forent, qui miseri, egentes, violentia
 atque crudelitate feneratorum plerique patriæ, sed
 omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus; neque
 cuiquam nostrum licuit more majorum lege uti,
 neque amisso patrimonio liberum corpus habere,
 2 tanta sævitia feneratorum atque prætoris fuit. Sæpe
 majores vostrum miseriti plebis Romanæ, decretis
 suis inopiæ ejus opitulati sunt; ac novissime memoria
 nostra, propter magnitudinem æris alieni, volentibus
 3 omnibus bonis, argentum ære solutum est. Sæpe
 ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota, aut superbia
 4 magistratuum, armata a patribus secessit. At
 nos non imperium neque divitias petimus, quarum
 rerum causa bella atque certamina omnia inter mortalis
 sunt, sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus nisi
 5 cum anima simul amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur,
 consulatis miseris civibus, legis præsidium,
 quod iniquitas prætoris eripuit, restituatis; neve
 nobis eam necessitudinem inponatis, ut quæramus,
 quonam modo maxume ulți sanguinem nostrum
 pereamus.

1 XXXIV. Ad hæc Q. Marcius respondit: Si quid
 ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam
 supplices profisciscantur; ea mansuetudine atque misericordia
 senatum populumque Romanum semper fuisse,
 2 ut nemo unquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit. At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consulari-

bus, præterea optumo cuique, litteras mittit: Se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunæ cedere, Massiliam in exilium proficisci: non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed uti res publica quieta foret, neve ex sua contentione seditio oriretur. Ab his longe divorsas litteras Q. Catulus in senatu recipit, quas sibi nomine Catilinæ redditas dicebat; earum exemplum infra scriptum est:

XXXV. L. Catilina Q. Catulo. Egregia tua fides re cognita, grata mihi, in magnis meis periculis fiduciam commendationi meæ tribuit. Quamobrem defensionem in novo consilio non statui parare, satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi, quam mediusfidius veram licet cognoscas. Injuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod fructu laboris industriæque meæ privatus statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum causam pro mea consuetudine suscepi, non quin æs alienum meis nominibus ex possessionibus solvere possem, quom et alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillæ suis filiæque copiis persolveret; sed quod non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam, meque falsa suspicione alienatum esse sentiebam. Hoc nomine satis honestas pro meo casu spes reliquæ dignitatis conservandæ sum secutus. Plura quom scribere vellem, nuntiatum est vim mihi parari. Nunc Orestillam commendo tuæque fidei trado: eam ab injuria defendas per liberos tuos rogatus. Haveto.

XXXVI. Sed ipse paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium in agro Arretino, dum vicinitatem antea sollicitatam armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperi insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Hæc ubi Romæ comperta sunt, senatus Catilinam et Manlium hostis judicat; ceteræ multitudini diem statuit, ante quam sine fraude liceret ab armis discedere præter rerum capitalium condemnatis. Præterea decernit, uti consules delectum habeant, Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet, Cicero

- 4 urbi præsidio sit. Ea tempestate mihi imperium
populi Romani multo maxume miserabile visum est,
cui quom ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita
armis parerent, domi otium atque divitiæ, quæ prima
mortales putant, adfluerent, fuere tamen cives, qui
seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum
5 irent. Namque duobus senati decretis ex tanta
multitudine neque præmio inductus conjurationem
patefecerat neque ex castris Catilinæ quisquam om-
nium discesserat; tanta vis morbi uti tabes plerosque
civium animos invaserat.
- 1 XXXVII. Neque solum illis aliena mens erat, qui
conscii conjurationis fuerant, sed omnino cuncta ple-
bes novarum rerum studio Catilinæ incepta probabat.
- 2 3 Id adeo more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in
civitate, quibus opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident,
malos extollunt, vetera odere, nova exoptant, odio
suarum rerum mutari omnia student, turba atque
seditionibus sine cura aluntur; quoniam egestas
4 facile habetur sine damno. Sed urbana plebes, ea
5 vero præceps ierat multis de causis. Primum omnium,
qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxume præ-
stabant, item alii per dedecora patrimoniis amissis,
postremo omnes, quos flagitium aut facinus domo ex-
pulerat, ii Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerant.
- 6 Deinde multi memores Sullanæ victoriæ, quod ex
gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant, alios ita
divites, ut regio victu atque cultu ætatem agerent,
sibi quisque, si in armis foret, ex victoria talia spera-
7 bat. Præterea juvenus, quæ in agris manuum mer-
cede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis lar-
gitionibus excita urbanum otium ingrato labori præ-
tulerat; eos atque alios omnis malum publicum
8 alebat. Quo minus mirandum est homines egentis,
malis moribus, maxuma spe, rei publicæ juxta ac
9 sibi consuluisse. Præterea quorum victoria Sullæ
parentes proscripti, bona erepta, jus libertatis inmi-
nutum erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum
10 exspectabant. Ad hoc quicunque aliarum atque

senatus partium erant, conturbari rem publicam quam minus valere ipsi malebant. Id adeo malum 11 multos post annos in civitatem revorterat.

XXXVIII. Nam postquam Cn. Pompeio et M. 1 Crasso consulibus tribunicia potestas restituta est, homines adulescentes summam potestatem nacti, quibus ætas animusque ferox erat, cœpere senatum criminando plebem exagitare, dein largiundo atque pollicitando magis incendere; ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos summa ope nitebatur 2 pleraque nobilitas, senatus specie pro sua magnitudine. Namque uti paucis verum absolvam, post illa 3 tempora quicumque rem publicam agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii sicuti populi jura defenderent, pars quo senatus auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro sua quisque potentia certabant; neque illis modestia neque modus contentionis erat; 4 utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

XXXIX. Sed postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum 1 maritimum atque Mithridaticum missus est, plebis opes inminutæ, paucorum potentia crevit. Hi magis 2 tratus, provincias, aliaque omnia tenere, ipsi innoxii, florescentes, sine metu ætatem agere, ceteros judiciis terrere, quo plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent. Sed ubi primum dubiis rebus novandi spes 3 oblata est, vetus certamen animos eorum arrexit. Quodsi primo prælio Catilina superior aut æqua manu 4 discessisset, profecto magna clades atque calamitas rem publicam oppressisset; neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et exsanguibus qui plus posset imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. Fuere tamen extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt; 5 in his erat A. Fulvius, senatoris filius, quem retractum ex itinere parens necari jussit. Isdem temporibus 6 Romæ Lentulus, sicuti Catilina præceperat, quoscunque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se aut per alios sollicitabat, neque solum civis, sed cujusque modi genus hominum, quod modo bello usui foret.

- 1 XL. Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti
legatos Allobrogum requirat eosque, si possit, in-
pellat ad societatem belli, existumans publice priva-
timque ære alieno oppressos, præterea, quod natura
gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale con-
2 silium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia
negotiatu erat, plerisque principibus civitatum
notus erat atque eos noverat; itaque sine mora, ubi
primum legatos in foro conspexit, percontatus pauca
de statu civitatis, et quasi dolens ejus casum, requi-
rere cœpit, quem exitum tantis malis sperarent.
3 Postquam illos videt queri de avaritia magistratuum,
accusare senatum, quod in eo auxilii nihil esset,
miseriis suis remedium mortem expectare: At
ego, inquit, vobis, si modo viri esse voltis, ra-
tionem ostendam, qua tanta ista mala effugiatis.
4 Hæc ubi dixit, Allobroges in maxumam spem ad-
ducti Umbrenum orare, ut sui misereretur; nihil tam
asperum neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidis-
sume facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem ære alieno
5 liberaret. Ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit,
quod foro propinqua erat neque aliena consili prop-
ter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat.
6 Præterea Gabinium accersit, quo major auctoritas
sermoni inesset. Eo presente conjurationem aperit,
nominat socios, præterea multos cujusque generis
innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset; deinde
eos pollicitos operam suam domum dimittit.
- 1 XLI. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quid-
2 nam consili caperent. In altera parte erat æs
alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe vic-
toriae, at in altera majores opes, tuta consilia, pro
3 incerta spe certa præmia. Hæc illis volventibus,
4 tandem vicit fortuna rei publicæ. Itaque Q. Fabio
Sangæ, cujus patrocínio civitas plurimum utebatur,
5 rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per
Sangam consilio cognito, legatis præcepit, ut studium
conjurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant,
bene polliceantur, dentque operam, uti eos quam
maxume manifestos habeant.

XLII. Isdem fere temporibus in Gallia citeriore¹ atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia motus erat. Namque illi, quos ante Catilina dimi-² serat, inconsulte ac veluti per dementiam cuncta simul agebant; nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. Ex eo nu-³ mero compluris Q. Metellus Celer prætor ex senati consulto, causa cognita, in vincula conjecerat; item in ulteriore Gallia C. Murena, qui ei provinciæ legatus præerat.

XLIII. At Romæ Lentulus cum ceteris, qui¹ principes conjurationis erant, paratis, ut videbatur, magnis copiis, constituerant, uti quom Catilina in agrum Fæsulanum cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis concione habita quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellicque gravissimi invidiam optumo consuli inponeret; eo signo proxuma nocte cetera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exsequeretur. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dice-² bantur: Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem ceterosque, quibus insidiæ parabantur, fieret; Cethegus Ciceronis januam obsideret eumque vi adgrederetur, alius autem alium; sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars erat, parentes interficerent, simul cæde et incendio percussis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter hæc parata atque decreta³ Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum; illos dubitando et dies prolatando magnas opportunitates conrumpere, facto, non consulto, in tali periculo opus esse, seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, inpetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox,⁴ vehemens, manu promptus erat; maxumum bonum in celeritate putabat.

XLIV. Sed Allobroges ex præcepto Ciceronis per¹ Gabinium ceteros conveniunt; ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio postulant jusjurandum, quod signatum ad civis perferant; aliter haud facile eos

- 2 ad tantum negotium inpelli posse. Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant; Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur ac paullo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur.
- 3 Lentulus cum his T. Volturcium quendam Crotoniensem mittit, ut Allobroges prius quam domum pergerent, cum Catilina data atque accepta fide
- 4 societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum est: Qui sim ex eo, quem ad te misi, cognosces.
- 5 Fac cogites, in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse; consideres, quid tuæ rationes postulent; auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis.
- 6 Ad hoc mandata verbis dat: Quom ab senatu hostis iudicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? in urbe parata esse, quæ jusserit: ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere.
- 1 XLV. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte, qua proficiscerentur, Cicero per legatos cuncta edoctus, L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptinio prætoribus imperat, ut in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant; rem omnem aperit, cujus gratia mittebantur, cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita
- 2 agant, permittit. Illi, homines militares, sine tumultu præsidiiis conlocatis, sicuti præceptum erat,
- 3 occulte pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venerunt et simul utrimque clamor exortus est, Galli, cito cognito consilio, sine
- 4 mora prætoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo, cohortatus ceteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit, deinde ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomptinium obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus ac vitæ diffidens velut hostibus sese prætoribus dedit.
- 1 XLVI. Quibus rebus confectis, omnia propere per
- 2 nuntios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque lætitiâ simul occupavere; nam lætabatur intellegens conjuratione patefacta civitatem periculis ereptam esse, porro autem anxius erat, dubitans, in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus esset; pœnam illorum sibi oneri, in puni-

tatem perdundæ rei publicæ fore credebat. Igitur 3 confirmato animo vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, item quendam Cæparium Tarracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Ceteri sine mora veniunt: 4 Cæparius paullo ante domo egressus cognito indicio ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quod prætor 5 erat, ipse manu tenens [in senatum] perducit; reliquos cum custodibus in ædem Concordiæ venire jubet. Eo senatum advocat, magnaque frequentia 6 ejus ordinis, Volturcium cum legatis introducit, Flaccum prætorem scrinium cum litteris, quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre jubet.

XLVII. Volturcius interrogatus de itinere, de litteris, postremo quid aut qua de causa consili habuisset, primo fingere alia, dissimulare de conjuratione; post, ubi fide publica dicere jussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit docetque se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Cæpario socium adscitum nihil amplius scire quam legatos; tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Ser. Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos præterea in ea conjuratione esse. Eadem Galli fatentur ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt præter litteras sermonibus, quos ille habere solitus erat: ex libris Sibyllinis regnum Romæ tribus Corneliis portendi; Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se tertium esse, cui fatum foret urbis potiri; præterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem sæpe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore. Igitur perlectis litteris, quom prius 3 omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, uti abdicato magistratu Lentulus, itemque ceteri in liberis custodiis haberentur. Itaque Lentulus P. 4 Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum ædilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Cæsari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Cæparius (nam is paullo ante ex fuga retractus erat) Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

XLVIII. Interea plebes, conjuratione patefacta, 1 quæ primo cupida rerum novarum nimis bello fave-

bat, mutata mente Catilinæ consilia exsecrari, Ciceronem ad cælum tollere; veluti ex servitute erepta
2 gaudium atque lætitiā agitabat. Namque alia belli facinora prædæ magis quam detrimento fore, incendium vero crudele, inmoderatum ac sibi maxime calamitosum putabat, quippe cui omnes copię in usu
3 cotidiano et cultu corporis erant. Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retrac-
4 tum aiebant. Is, quom se diceret indicaturum de conjuratione, si fides publica data esset, jussus a consule quæ sciret edicere, eadem fere quæ Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de cæde bonorum, de itinere hostium senatum docet; præterea se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinæ nuntiaret, ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus aliique ex conjuratione deprehensi terrent, eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret et illi facilius e periculo
5 eriperentur. Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maxumis divitiis, summa potentia, alii rem incredibilem rati, pars tametsi verum existumabant, tamen quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii conclamant indicem falsum esse, deque ea re postulant uti
6 referatur. Itaque consulente Cicerone frequens senatus decernit, Tarquini indicium falsum videri, eumque in vinculis retinendum, neque amplius potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam
7 rem esset mentitus. Erant eo tempore, qui æstumarent, indicium illud a P. Autronio machinatum, quo facilius adpellato Crasso per societatem periculi reli-
8 quos illius potentia tegetet. Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone inmissum aiebant, ne Crassus more suo suscepto
9 malorum patrociniō rem publicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea prædicantem audiui, tantam illam contumeliā sibi a Cicerone inpositam.
1 XLIX. Sed isdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso neque precibus neque gratia neque pretio Ciceronem impellere potuere, uti per Allobroges aut alium indi-

cem C. Cæsar falso nominaretur. Nam uterque cum 2
 illo gravis inimicitias exercebat : Piso obpugnatus in
 iudicio pecuniarum repetundarum propter cuiusdam
 Transpadani supplicium injustum ; Catulus ex peti-
 tione pontificatus odio incensus, quod extrema ætate,
 maxumis honoribus usus, ab adolescentulo Cæsare
 victus discesserat. Res autem opportuna videbatur, 3
 quod is, privatim egregia liberalitate publice max-
 umis muneribus, grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed 4
 ubi consulem ad tantum facinus inpellere nequeunt,
 ipsi singulatim circumeundo atque ementiundo, quæ
 se ex Volturcio aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent,
 magnam illi invidiam conflaverant, usque adeo, ut
 nonnulli equites Romani, qui præsidi causa cum telis
 erant circum ædem Concordiæ, seu periculi magni-
 tudine seu animi mobilitate impulsæ, quo studium
 suum in rem publicam clarius esset, egredienti ex
 senatu Cæsari gladio minitarentur.

L. Dum hæc in senatu aguntur et dum legatis 1
 Allobrogum et T. Volturcio, conprobato eorum indi-
 cio, præmia decernuntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus
 Lentuli divorsis itineribus opifices atque servitia in
 vicis ad eum eripiundum sollicitabant, partim exqui-
 rebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rem publicam
 vexare soliti erant. Cethegus autem per nuntios 2
 familiam atque liberos suos, lectos et exercitatos in
 audaciam, orabat, ut grege facto cum telis ad sese
 inrumperent. Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispo- 3
 sitis præsidiis, ut res atque tempus monebat, convo-
 cato senatu refert, quid de his fieri placeat, qui in
 custodiam traditi erant. Sed eos paullo ante fre-
 quens senatus judicaverat contra rem publicam
 fecisse. Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam 4
 rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de
 his, qui in custodiis tenebantur, præterea de L. Cassio,
 P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent,
 supplicium sumundum decreverat ; isque postea, per-
 motus oratione C. Cæsaris, pedibus in sententiam
 Tib. Neronis iturum se dixerat, quod de ea re præ-
 sidiis additis referendum censuerat. Sed Cæsar, ubi 5

ad eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam a consule, hujuscemodi verba locutus est :

- 1 LI. Omnis homines, Patres Conscripti, qui de rebus
dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque miseri-
- 2 cordia vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum
providet, ubi illa obficiunt, neque quisquam omnium
- 3 lubrici simul et usui paruit. Ubi intenderis inge-
nium, valet ; si lubrico possidet, ea dominatur, animus
- 4 nihil valet. Magna mihi copia est memorandi, P. C.,
quæ reges atque populi ira aut misericordia impulsimale consuluerint ; sed ea malo dicere, quæ majores
nostri contra lubricinam animi sui recte atque ordine
- 5 fecere. Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse ges-
simus, Rhodiorum civitas, magna atque magnifica,
quæ populi Romani opibus creverat, infida atque
advorsa nobis fuit ; sed postquam bello confecto de
Rhodiis consultum est, majores nostri, ne quis divi-
tiarum magis quam injuriæ causa bellum inceptum
- 6 diceret, impunitos eos dimisere. Item bellis Punicis
omnibus, quom sæpe Carthaginienses et in pace et
per inducias multa nefaria facinora fecissent, nun-
quam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere ; magis, quid
se dignum foret, quam quid in illos jure fieri posset,
- 7 quærebant. Hoc item vobis providendum est, P. C.,
ne plus apud vos valeat P. Lentuli et ceterorum
scelus quam vostra dignitas ; neu magis iræ vostræ
- 8 quam famæ consulatis. Nam si digna pœna pro
factis eorum reperitur, novom consilium adprobo ;
sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat,
his utendum censeo, quæ legibus comparata sunt.
- 9 Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententiam dixerunt,
composite atque magnifice casum rei publicæ miserati
sunt ; quæ belli sævitia esset, quæ victis acciderent,
enumeravere ; rapi virgines, pueros, divelli liberos a
parentum complexu, matres familiarum pati, quæ
victoribus conlibuissent, fana atque domos spoliari,
cædem, incendia fieri, postremo armis, cadaveribus,
- 10 cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos
inmortalis, quo illa oratio pertinuit ? an uti vos in-
festos conjurationi faceret ? Scilicet quem res tanta

et tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio accendit. Non ita est; neque cuiquam mortalium injuriæ suæ 11 parvæ videntur: multi eas gravius æquo habuere. Sed alia aliis licentia est, P. C. Qui demissi in ob- 12 scuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt: qui magno imperio præditi in excelso ætatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxuma fortuna 13 minuma licentia est; neque studere, neque odisse, sed minume irasci decet; quæ apud alios iracundia dici- 14 tur, ea in imperio superbia atque crudelitas adpellatur. Equidem ego sic existumo, P. C., omnis cru- 15 ciatus minores quam facinora illorum esse; sed plerique mortales postrema meminere, et in hominibus inpiis sceleris eorum obliti de pœna disserunt, si ea paullo severior fuit. D. Silanum, virum fortem 16 atque strenuum, certo scio, quæ dixerit, studio rei publicæ dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere; eos mores eamque modestiam viri cognovi. Verum sententia ejus mihi non cru- 17 delis,—quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest?—sed aliena a re publica nostra videtur. Nam 18 profecto aut metus aut injuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus pœnæ novom decernere. De timore supervacaneum est disserere, quom præ- 19 sertim diligentia clarissimi viri, consulis, tanta præsidia sint in armis. De pœna possumus equidem 20 dicere id quod res habet; in luctu atque miseriis mortem ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse, eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere, ultra neque curæ neque gaudio locum esse. Sed, per deos 21 immortalis, quamobrem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadvorteretur? An, 22 quia lex Porcia vetat? At aliæ leges item condemnatis civibus non animam eripi, sed exilium permitti jubent. An, quia gravius est verberari 23 quam necari? Quid autem acerbum aut nimis grave est in homines tanti facinoris convictos? Sin, quia 24 levius est; qui convenit in minore negotio legem timere, quom eam in majore neglexeris? At enim 25

quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas rei publicæ
decretum erit? Tempus, dies, fortuna, cujus lubido
26 gentibus moderatur. Illis merito accidet, quidquid
evenerit; ceterum vos, P. C., quid in alios statuatis,
27 considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex bonis orta
sunt; sed ubi imperium ad ignaros aut minus bonos
pervenit, novum illud exemplum ab dignis et idoneis
28 ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedæmonii
devictis Atheniensibus triginta viros inposuere, qui
29 rem publicam eorum tractarent. Hi primo cœpere
pessimum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum
30 necare; ea populus lætari et merito dicere fieri. Post
ubi paullatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos et malos
31 lubricinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere. Ita
civitas servitute oppressa stultæ lætitiæ gravis poenas
32 dedit. Nostra memoria victor Sulla quom Damasip-
pum et alios hujusmodi, qui malo rei publicæ creve-
rant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat?
Homines scelestos et factiosos, qui seditionibus rem
33 publicam exagitaverant, merito necatos aiebant. Sed
ea res magnæ initium cladis fuit. Nam uti quisque
domum aut villam, postremo vas aut vestimentum
alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, ut is in pro-
34 scriptorum numero esset. Ita illi, quibus Damasippi
mors lætitiæ fuerat, paullo post ipsi trahebantur;
neque prius finis jugulandi fuit quam Sulla omnis
35 suos divitiis explevit. Atque ego hæc non in M.
Tullio neque his temporibus vereor, sed in magna
36 civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. Potest alio
tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manu sit,
falsum aliquid pro vero credi; ubi hoc exemplo per
senati decretum consul gladium eduxerit, quis illi
37 finem statuet aut quis moderabitur? Majores nostri,
P. C., neque consili neque audaciæ unquam eguere,
neque illis superbia obstabat, quo minus aliena insti-
38 tuta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque
tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum
ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt: postremo quod ubi-
que apud socios aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum
summo studio domi exsequebantur, imitari quam

invidere bonis malebant. Sed eodem illo tempore, 39
 Græciæ morem imitati, verberibus animadvortebant
 in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sume-
 bant. Postquam res publica adolevit et multitudine 40
 civium factiones valere, circumveniri innocentes,
 alia hujuscemodi fieri cœpere, tum lex Porcia aliæque
 leges paratæ sunt, quibus legibus exilium damnatis
 permissum est. Ego hanc causam, P. C., quo minus 41
 novom consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto.
 Profecto virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, 42
 qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecerequam in
 nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retinemus. Placet igitur 43
 eos dimitti et augere exercitum Catilinæ? Minume,
 sed ita censeo: publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in
 vinculis habendos per municipia, quæ maxume opibus
 valent; neu quis de his postea ad senatum referat
 neve cum populo agat; qui aliter fecerit, senatum
 existumare eum contra rem publicam et salutem
 omnium facturum.

LII. Postquam Cæsar dicendi finem fecit, ceteri 1.
 verbo alius alii varie adsentiebantur: at M. Porcius
 Cato, rogatus sententiam, hujuscemodi orationem
 habuit:

Longe mihi alia mens est, P. C., quom res atque 2
 pericula nostra considero, et quom sententias non-
 nullorum mecum ipse reputo. Illi mihi disseruisse 3
 videntur de pœna eorum, qui patriæ, parentibus, aris
 atque focis suis bellum paravere; res autem monet
 cavere ab illis magis quam, quid in illos statuamus,
 consultare. Nam cetera maleficia tum persequare, 4
 ubi facta sunt; hoc nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi
 evenit, frustra judicia implores; capta urbe nihil fit
 reliqui victis. Sed, per deos immortalis, vos ego 5
 adpello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas
 vostras pluris quam rem publicam fecistis, si ista,
 cujuscunque modi sunt quæ amplexamini, retinere,
 si voluptatibus vestris otium præbere voltis, exper-
 giscimini aliquando et capessite rem publicam. Non 6
 agitur de vectigalibus neque de sociorum injuriis:
 libertas et anima nostra in dubio est. Sæpe numero, 7

P. C., multa verba in hoc ordine feci, sæpe de luxuria
atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum, mul-
8 tosque mortalis ea causa advorsos habeo. Qui mihi
atque animo meo nullius unquam delicti gratiam
fecissem, haud facile alterius lubidini male facta
9 condonabam. Sed ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis,
tamen res publica firma erat; opulentia negligentiam
10 tolerabat. Nunc vero non id agitur, bonisne an malis
moribus vivamus, neque quantum aut quam mag-
nificum imperium populi Romani sit, sed hæc cujus-
cunque modi videntur, nostra an nobiscum una
11 hostium futura sint. Hic mihi quisquam mansue-
tudinem et misericordiam nominat. Jampridem
equidem nos vera vocabula rerum amisimus, quia
bona aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia
fortitudo vocatur, eo res publica in extremo sita est.
12 Sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex
sociorum fortune, sint misericordes in furibus ærari;
ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur, et dum paucis
13 sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant. Bene
et composite C. Cæsar paullo ante in hoc ordine de
vita et morte disseruit, credo falsa existumans ea,
quæ de inferis memorantur, divorso itinere malos a
bonis loca tætra, inculta, fœda atque formidolosa
14 habere. Itaque censuit pecunias eorum publicandas,
ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos; videlicet
timens, ne, si Romæ sint, aut a popularibus conju-
rationis aut a multitudine conductæ per vim eripian-
15 tur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantummodo
in urbe et non per totam Italiam sint, aut non ibi
plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores
16 sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si
periculum ex illis metuit; sin in tanto omnium metu
solus non timet, eo magis refert me mihi atque vobis
17 timere. Quare quom de P. Lentulo ceterisque sta-
tuetis, pro certo habetote, vos simul de exercitu Cati-
18 linæ et de omnibus conjuratis decernere. Quanto
vos attentius ea ageris, tanto illis animus infirmior
erit; si paullulum modo vos languere viderint, jam
19 omnes feroces aderunt. Nolite existumare, majores

nostros armis rem publicam ex parva magnam fecisse. 20
Si ita res esset, multo pulcherrumam eam nos habere-
remus; quippe sociorum atque civium, præterea
armorum atque equorum major nobis copia quam
illis est. Sed alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere, 21
quæ nobis nulla sunt, domi industria, foris justum
imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto
neque lubrici obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus 22
luxuriam atque avaritiam, publice egestatem, pri-
vatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur iner-
tiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum est;
omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidet. Neque 23
mirum: ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium
capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniæ aut gratiæ
servitis, eo fit, ut inpetus fiat in vacuam rem pub-
licam. Sed ego hæc omitto. Conjuravere nobilis- 24
sumi cives patriam incendere, Gallorum gentem
infestissumam nomini Romano ad bellum accersunt;
dux hostium cum exercitu supra caput est: vos cunc- 25
tamini etiamnunc, quid intra mœnia deprensus hosti-
bus faciatis? Misereamini censeo,—deliquere ho- 26
mines adulescentuli per ambitionem,—atque etiam
armatos dimittatis. Ne ista vobis mansuetudo et 27
misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam con-
vortet. Scilicet res ipsa aspera est, sed vos non 28
timetis eam. Immo vero maxume; sed inertia et
mollitia animi alius alium expectantes cunctamini,
videlicet dis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rem pub-
licam sæpe in maxumis periculis servavere. Non 29
votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum
parantur; vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo pro-
spera omnia cedunt; ubi socordiæ te atque ignaviæ
tradideris, nequidquam deos inplores; irati infes-
tique sunt. Apud majores nostros A. Manlius Tor- 30
quatus bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra
imperium in hostem pugnaverit, necari jussit, atque 31
ille egregius adulescens inmoderatæ fortitudinis morte
pœnas dedit: vos de crudelissimis parricidis quid
statuatis cunctamini? Videlicet cetera vita eorum huic
sceleri obstat. Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse 32

pudicitiae, si famae suae, si dis aut hominibus unquam
 33 ullis pepercit; ignoscite Cethegi adolescentiae, nisi
 34 iterum jam patriae bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de
 Gabinio, Statilio, Cæpario loquar? quibus si quid-
 quam unquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de re
 35 publica habuissent. Postremo, P. C., si mehercule
 peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi,
 quoniam verba contemnitis; sed undique circum-
 venti sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget:
 alii intra mœnia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes:
 neque parari neque consuli quidquam potest occulte;
 36 quo magis properandum est. Quare ita ego censeo:
 quom nefario consilio sceleratorum civium res publica
 in maxuma pericula venerit, iique indicio T. Volturci
 et legatorum Allobrogum convicti confessique sint
 cædem, incendia aliaque se foeda atque crudelia faci-
 nora in civis patriamque paravisse, de confessis sicuti
 de manifestis rerum capitalium more majorum sup-
 plicium sumundum.

- 1 LIII. Postquam Cato adsedit, consulares omnes
 itemque senatus magna pars sententiam ejus lau-
 dant, virtutem animi ad cælum ferunt, alii alios
 increpantes timidos vocant, Cato clarus atque mag-
 nus habetur, senati decretum fit, sicuti ille censuerat.
- 2 Sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti, quæ populus
 Romanus domi militiæque, mari atque terra præclara
 facinora fecit, forte lubuit adtendere, quæ res max-
 3 ume tanta negotia sustinuisset. Sciebam sæpe
 numero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium
 contendisse; cognoveram parvis copiis bella gesta
 cum opulentis regibus, ad hoc sæpe fortunæ violen-
 tiam toleravisse, facundia Græcos, gloria belli Gallos
 4 ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa agitati con-
 stabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta
 patravisse, eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, mul-
 5 titudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu
 atque desidia civitas corrupta est, rursus res publica
 magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratuum
 vitia sustentabat, ac, sicuti effeta parentum, multis
 tempestatibus haud sane quisquam Romæ virtute

magnus fuit. Sed memoria mea ingenti virtute, 6
divorsis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato et C. Cæsar;
quos quoniam res obtulerat, silentio præterire non
fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores,
quantum ingenio possem, aperirem.

LIV. Igitur his genus, ætas, eloquentia prope 1
æqualia fuere; magnitudo animi par, item gloria,
sed alia alii. Cæsar beneficiis ac munificentia mag- 2
nus habebatur, integritate vitæ Cato. Ille mansue-
tudine et misericordia clarus factus, huic severitas
dignitatem addiderat. Cæsar dando, sublevando, 3
ignoscendo, Cato nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus est.
In altero miseris perfugium erat, in altero malis per-
niciēs; illius facilitas, hujus constantia laudabatur.
Postremo Cæsar in animum induxerat laborare, vigi- 4
lare; negotiis amicorum intentus sua neglegere, nihil
denegare, quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum
imperium, exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat, ubi
virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium mo- 5
destiæ, decoris, sed maxime severitatis erat. Non
divitiis cum divite, neque factione cum factioso, sed
cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum inno-
cente abstinencia certabat, esse quam videri bonus
malebat; ita quo minus gloriam petebat, eo magis
[illum] sequebatur.

LV. Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis senten- 1
tiam discessit, consul optimum factu ratus, noctem,
quæ instabat, antecapere, ne quid eo spatio nova-
retur, triumviros quæ supplicium postulabat parare
jubet; ipse, præsidiis dispositis, Lentulum in car- 2
cerem deducit; idem fit ceteris per prætores. Est 3
in carcere locus, quod Tullianum adpellatur, ubi
paullulum ascenderis ad lævam, circiter duodecim
pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique pa- 4
rietes atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus
vincta, sed incultu, tenebris, odore foeda atque ter-
ribilis ejus facies est. In eum locum postquam de- 5
missus est Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium, qui-
bus præceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille 6
patricius ex gente clarissima Corneliorum, qui con-

sulare imperium Romæ habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitæ invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Cæpario eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.

- 1 LVI. Dum ea Romæ geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia, quam et ipse adduxerat et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit, cohortis pro numero militum
- 2 complet; deinde, ut quisque voluntarius aut ex sociis in castra venerat, æqualiter distribuerat, ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum expleverat, quom
- 3 initio non amplius duobus milibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa; ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos aut lanceas, alii præacutas sudis portabant.
- 4 Sed postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montis iter facere, modo ad urbem, modo in Galliam versus castra movere, hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare; sperabat propediem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romæ socii incepta patra-
- 5 vissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, cujus initio ad eum magnæ copię concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus, simul alienum suis rationibus existumans, videri causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

- 1 LVII. Sed postquam in castra nuntius pervenit Romæ conjurationem patefactam, de Lentulo et Cethego ceterisque, quos supra memoravi, supplicium sumptum; plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum aut novarum rerum studium inlexerat, dilabuntur; reliquos Catilina per montis asperos magnis itineribus in agrum Pistoriensem abducit, eo consilio, uti per tramites occulte perfugeret in Galliam [Transal-
- 2 pinam]. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno præsidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existumans, quæ supra diximus, Catilinam
- 3 agitare. Igitur, ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movet ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua illi descensus erat in Galliam prope-
- 4 ranti. Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat, utpote qui magno exercitu locis æquioribus expeditus in

fuga sequeretur. Sed Catilina postquam videt mon- 5
tibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res
advorsas, neque fugæ neque præsidii ullam spem,
optimum factu ratus, in tali re fortunam belli
temptare, statuit cum Antonio quam primum con-
figere. Itaque concione advocata hujusmodi ora- 6
tionem habuit:

LVIII. Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba vir- 1
tutem non addere, neque ex ignavo strenuum neque
fortem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris
fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia natura aut 2
moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet. Quem
neque gloria neque pericula excitant, nequidquam
hortere; timor animi auribus obfecit. Sed ego vos, 3
quo pauca monerem, advocavi; simul uti causam
mei consilii aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, so- 4
cordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi nobisque
cladem attulerit; quoque modo, dum ex urbe præ-
sidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim.
Nunc vero quo in loco res nostræ sint, juxta mecum 5
omnes intellegitis. Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab 6
urbe, alter a Gallia obstant; diutius in his locis esse,
si maxime animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum
rerum egestas prohibet. Quocumque ire placet, ferro 7
iter aperiendum est. Quapropter vos moneo, uti 8
forti atque parato animo sitis et, quom prælium
inibitis, memineritis vos divitias, decus, gloriam,
præterea libertatem atque patriam in dexteris vestris
portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt, com- 9
meatus abunde, municipia atque coloniæ patebunt;
sin metu cesserimus, eadem illa advorsa fient: neque 10
locus neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non
texerint. Præterea, milites, non eadem nobis et 11
illis necessitudo inpendet; nos pro patria, pro liber-
tate, pro vita certamus: illis supervacaneum est pro
potentia paucorum pugnare. Quo audacius adgre- 12
dimini, memores pristinae virtutis. Licuit vobis cum 13
summa turpitudine in exilio ætatem agere; potuistis
nonnulli Romæ amissis bonis alienas opes exspectare:
quia illa fœda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, hæc 14

15 sequi decrevistis. Si hæc relinquere voltis, audacia
opus est; nemo nisi victor pace bellum mutavit.
16 Nam in fuga, salutem sperare, quom arma, quis
corpus tegitur, ab hostibus avorteris, ea vero de-
17 mentia est. Semper in proelio is maxumum est
periculum, qui maxume timent; audacia pro muro
18 habetur. Quom vos considero, milites, et quom
facta vostra æstumo, magna me spes victoriæ tenet.
19 Animus, ætas, virtus vostra me hortantur; præterea
20 necessitudo, quæ etiam timidos fortis facit. Nam
multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent
21 angustiae loci. Quodsi virtuti vostræ fortuna invi-
derit, cavete, inulti animam amittatis, neu capti
potius sicuti pecora trucidemini, quam virorum more
pugnantes cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hos-
tibus relinquantis.

- 1 LIX. Hæc ubi dixit, paullulum commoratus, signa
canere jubet, atque instructos ordines in locum
æquom deducit. Dein, remotis omnium equis, quo
militibus exæquato periculo animus amplior esset,
ipse pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis instruit.
- 2 Nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montis et ab
dextera rupis aspera, octo cohortis in fronte consti-
3 tuit, reliqua signa in subsidio artius conlocat. Ab
his centuriones, omnis lectos et evocatos, præterea
ex gregariis militibus optumum quemque armatum
in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextera,
Fæsulanum quendam in sinistra parte curare jubet;
ipse cum libertis et colonis propter aquilam adstitit,
quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse
4 dicebatur. At ex altera parte C. Antonius, pedibus
æger, quod proelio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato
5 exercitum permittit. Ille cohortis veteranas, quas
tumulti causa conscripserat, in fronte, post eas cete-
rum exercitum in subsidiis locat. Ipse equo circum-
iens, unum quemque nominans adpellat, hortatur,
rogat, ut meminerint, se contra latrones inermis, pro
patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis certare.
- 6 Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta tri-
bunus aut præfectus aut legatus aut prætor cum

magna gloria in exercitu fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat; ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.

LX. Sed ubi, omnibus rebus exploratis, Petreius 1 tuba signum dat, cohortis paullatim incedere jubet, idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eo ventum 2 est, unde a ferentariis praelium committi posset, maximo clamore cum infestis signis concurrunt; pila omittunt, gladiis res geritur. Veterani, pristinae 3 virtutis memores, cominus acriter instare; illi haud timidi resistunt; maxuma vi certatur. Interea 4 Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie versari, laborantibus subcurrere; integros pro sauciis accersere, omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare, sæpe hostem ferire; strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius, ubi videt Catilinam, 5 contra ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, cohortem prætoriam in medios hostis inducit, eosque perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentes interficit; deinde utrimque ex lateribus ceteros adgreditur. Manlius 6 et Fæsulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam 7 fusas copias seque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis atque pristinae suæ dignitatis, in confertissimos hostis incurrit ibique pugnans confoditur.

LXI. Sed confecto prælio, tum vero cerneret, 1 quanta audacia quantaque vis animi fuisset in exercitu Catilinæ. Nam fere, quem quisque vivos pugnando locum ceperat, eum amissa anima corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos medios cohors prætoria 3 disjecerat, paullo divorsius, sed omnes tamen advorsis vulneribus conciderant. Catilina vero longe a suis 4 inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paullulum etiam spirans ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivos, in voltu retinens. Postremo ex omni copia neque in prælio, neque in fuga quisquam civis ingenuus captus est: ita cuncti suæ hostiumque vitæ juxta pepercerant. 6 Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani lætam aut 7 incruentam victoriam adeptus erat; nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in prælio aut graviter

8 vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui de castris
visundi aut spoliandi gratia processerant, volventes
hostilia cadavera, amicum alii, pars hospitem aut
cognatum reperiabant; fuere item, qui inimicos suos
9 cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum læ-
titia, mæror, luctus atque gaudia agitabantur.

C. SALLUSTI CRISPI

JUGURTHA.

I. FALSO queritur de natura sua genus humanum 1
quod inbecilla atque ævi brevis forte potius quam
virtute regatur. Nam contra reputando neque 2
majus aliud neque præstabilius invenias, magisque
naturæ industriam hominum quam vim aut tempus
deesse. Sed dux atque imperator vitæ mortalium 3
animus est, qui, ubi ad gloriam virtutis via grassatur,
abunde pollens potensque et clarus est, neque fortuna
eget, quippe probitatem, industriam aliasque artis
bonas neque dare neque eripere cuiquam potest.
Sin captus pravis cupidinibus ad inertiam et volup- 4
tatis corporis pessum datus est, perniciose lubricine
paullisper usus, ubi per socordiam vires, tempus,
ingenium diffluxere, naturæ infirmitas accusatur;
suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt.
Quodsi hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, 5
quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura multumque
etiam periculosa petunt; neque regerentur magis
quam regerent casus, et eo magnitudinis procederent,
ubi pro mortalibus gloria æterni fierent.

II. Nam uti genus hominum compositum ex cor- 1
pore et anima est, ita res cunctæ studiæque omnia
nostra corporis alia, alia animi naturam sequuntur.
Igitur præclara facies, magnæ divitiæ, ad hoc vis 2
corporis et alia hujusmodi omnia brevi dilabuntur;
at ingeni egregia facinora sicuti anima immortalia
sunt. Postremo corporis et fortunæ bonorum ut 3
initium sic finis est, omniaque orta occidunt et aucta

senescunt: animus incorruptus, æternus, rector humani generis, agit atque habet cuncta neque ipse
 4 habetur. Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui dediti corporis gaudiis per luxum atque ignaviam ætatem agunt, ceterum ingenium, quo neque melius neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, incultu atque socordia torpescere sinunt; quom præsertim tam multæ variæque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

1 III. Verum ex his magistratus et imperia, postremo omnis cura rerum publicarum minime mihi hac tempestate cupiunda videntur; quoniam neque virtuti honos datur, neque illi, quibus per fraudem is
 2 fuit, tuti aut eo magis honesti sunt. Nam vi quidem regere patriam aut parentes, quamquam et possis et delicta corrigas, tamen inopportuno est, quom præsertim omnes rerum mutationes cædem,
 3 fugam, aliaque hostilia portendant; frustra autem niti, neque aliud se fatigando nisi odium quærere,
 4 extremæ dementiæ est; nisi forte quem inhonesta et perniciosa lubido tenet, potentiæ paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.

1 IV. Ceterum ex aliis negotiis, quæ ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est memoria rerum
 2 gestarum: cujus de virtute quia multi dixere, prætereundum puto; simul ne per insolentiam quis existimet memet, studium meum laudando, extollere.
 3 Atque ego credo fore, qui, quia decrevi procul a re publica ætatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiae inponant: certe, quibus maxuma industria videtur salutare plebem et conviviis gratiam
 4 quærere. Qui si reputaverint, et quibus ego temporibus magistratum adeptus sum, et quales viri idem adsequi nequiverint, et postea quæ genera hominum in senatum pervenerint, profecto existumabunt me magis merito quam ignavia iudicium animi mei mutavisse, majusque commodum ex otio meo quam ex
 5 aliorum negotiis rei publicæ venturum. Nam sæpe ego audiui, Q. Maximum, P. Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere,

quom majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissime sibi animum ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non 6. ceram illam neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis yiris in pectore crescere neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. At contra, quis est omnium his moribus, quin 7 divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque industria cum majoribus suis contendat? Etiam homines novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim et per latrocinia potius quam bonis artibus ad imperia et honores nituntur; proinde quasi 8 prætura et consulatus atque alia omnia hujusmodi per se ipsa clara et magnifica sint, ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum, qui ea sustinent, virtus est. Verum ego liberius altiusque processi, dum me civi- 9 tatis morum piget tædetque; nunc ad inceptum redeo.

V. Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus 1 cum Jugurtha rege Numidarum gessit; primum quia magnum et atrox variaque victoria fuit, dein quia tunc primum superbiæ nobilitatis obviam itum est; quæ contentio divina et humana cuncta permiscuit 2 eoque vecordiæ processit, uti studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiæ finem faceret. Sed priusquam 3 hujusmodi rei initium expedio, pauca supra repetam, quo ad cognoscendum omnia inlustria magis magisque in aperto sint. Bello Punico secundo, quo 4 dux Carthaginiensium Hannibal post magnitudinem nominis Romani Italiæ opes maxime adtriverat, Masinissa rex Numidarum, in amicitiam receptus a P. Scipione, cui postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et præclara rei militaris facinora fecerat; ob quæ victis Carthaginiensibus et capto Syphace, cujus in Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit, populus Romanus quascunque urbis et agros manu ceperat, regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissæ 5 bona atque honesta nobis permansit. Sed imperi vitæque ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa filius 6 regnum solus obtinuit, Mastanabale et Gulussa fra-

7 tribus morbo absumptis. Is Adherbalem et Hiemp-
salem ex sese genuit, Jugurthamque, filium Mastana-
balis fratris, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concu-
bina erat, privatum dereliquerat, eodem cultu quo
liberos suos domi habuit.

1 VI. Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, de-
cora facie, sed multo maxume ingenio validus, non
se luxu neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit, sed, uti
mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum
æqualibus certare, et quom omnis gloria anteiret,
omnibus tamen carus esse; ad hoc pleraque tempora
in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus
aut in primis ferire, plurimum facere, minimum ipse
2 de se loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio
lætus fuerat, existumans virtutem Jugurthæ regno
suae gloriæ fore, tamen, postquam hominem adules-
centem exacta sua ætate et parvis liberis magis
magisque crescere intellegit, vehementer eo negotio
3 permotus, multa cum animo suo volvebat. Terrebat
eum natura mortalium avida imperi et præceps ad
explendam animi cupidinem, præterea opportunitas
suae liberorumque ætatis, quæ etiam mediocris viros
spe prædæ transvorsos agit; ad hoc studia Numida-
rum in Jugurtham accensa, ex quibus, si talem virum
dolus interfecisset, ne qua seditio aut bellum oriretur,
anxius erat.

1 VII. His difficultatibus circumventus ubi videt
neque per vim neque insidiis obprimi posse hominem
tam acceptum popularibus, quod erat Jugurtha manu
promptus et adpetens gloriæ militaris, statuit eum
objectare periculis, et eo modo fortunam temptare.
2 Igitur bello Numantino Micipsa, quom populo Ro-
mano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, spe-
rans vel ostentando virtutem vel hostium sævitia
facile eum occasurum, præfecit Numidis, quos in
3 Hispaniam mittebat. Sed ea res longe aliter, ac
4 ratus erat, evenit. Nam Jugurtha, ut erat inpigro
atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui
tum Romanis imperator erat, et morem hostium
cognovit, multo labore multaque cura, præterea mo-

destissime parendo et sæpe obviam eundo periculis in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrori esset. Ac sane, quod difficillimum in primis est, et prælio 5 strenuus erat et bonus consilio; quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque solet. Igitur imperator 6 omnis fere res asperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque eum in dies amplecti; quippe cujus neque consilium neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. Huc accedebat munificentia animi et 7 ingeni sollertia, quis rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

VIII. Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere con- 1 plures novi atque nobiles, quibus divitiæ bono honestoque potiores erant, factiosi domi, potentes apud socios, clari magis quam honesti, qui Jugurthæ non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, si Micipsa rex occidisset, fore, uti solus imperio Numidiæ potiretur, in ipso maxumam virtutem, Romæ omnia venalia esse. Sed postquam Numantia deleta 2 P. Scipio dimittere auxilia et ipse revorti domum decrevit, donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro concione Jugurtham in prætorium abduxit ibique secreto monuit, uti potius publice quam privatim amicitiam populi Romani coleret neu quibus largiri insuesceret; periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum esset: si permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi et gloriam et regnum venturum, sin properantius pergeret, suamet ipsum pecunia præcipitem casurum.

IX. Sic locutus cum litteris eum, quas Micipsæ 1 redderet, dimisit. Earum sententia hæc erat: Jugurthæ tui bello Numantino longe maxuma virtus fuit, quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse. Nobis ob merita sua carus est; ut idem senatui et populo Romano sit, summa ope nitentur. Tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor. En habes virum dignum te atque avo suo Masinissa. Igitur rex, ubi ea, 3 quæ fama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit, cum virtute tum gratia viri permotus flexit

animum suum et Jugurtham beneficiis vincere adgressus est, statimque eum adoptavit et testamento
4 pariter cum filiis heredem instituit. Sed ipse paucos post annos morbo atque ætate confectus quom sibi finem vitæ adesse intellexeret, coram amicis et cognatis itemque Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis dicitur hujuscemodi verba cum Jugurtha habuisse :

1 X. Parvom ego te, Jugurtha, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus, in meum regnum accepi, existumans non minus me tibi, quam si genuissem, ob beneficia
2 carum fore ; neque ea res falsum me habuit. Nam, ut alia magna et egregia tua omittam, novissime rediens Numantia meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti tuaque virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissimos fecisti ; in Hispania nomen familiæ renovatum est, postremo, quod difficillimum inter mortalis est, gloria invidiam vicisti. Nunc, quoniam
3 mihi natura finem vitæ facit, per hanc dexteram, per regni fidem moneo obtestorque, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas, neu malis alienos adjungere quam sanguine
4 conjunctos retinere. Non exercitus neque thesauri præsidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere neque auro parare queas ; officio et fide par
5 untur. Quis autem amicior quam frater fratri ? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris ?
6 Equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis ; sin mali, inbecillum. Nam concordia parvæ
7 res crescunt, discordia maxumæ dilabuntur. Ceterum ante hos te, Jugurtha, qui ætate et sapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat, providere decet. Nam in omni certamine qui opulentior est, etiamsi accipit injuriam, tamen quia plus potest, facere vide
8 tur. Vos autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observate talem hunc virum, imitamini virtutem et enitimini, ne ego meliores liberos sumpsisse videar quam genuisse.

1 XI. Ad ea Jugurtha, tametsi regem ficta locutum intellegebat et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat,
2 tamen pro tempore benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis

post diebus moritur. Postquam illi more regio justa magnifice fecerant, reguli in unum convenerunt, ut inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minumus ex illis erat, natura ferox et jam ante ignobilitatem Jugurthæ, quia materno genere inpar erat, despiciens, dextera Adherbalem adsedit, ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen ut ætati concederet fatigatus a fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est. Ibi quom multa de administrando imperio dissererent, Jugurtha inter alias res jacet oportere quinquenni consulta et decreta omnia rescindi; nam per ea tempora confectum annis Micipsam parum animo valuisse. Tum idem Hiempsal placere sibi respondit; nam ipsum illum tribus proximis annis adoptione in regnum pervenisse. Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthæ altius, quam quisquam ratus erat, descendit. Itaque ex eo tempore ira et metu anxius moliri, parare atque ea modo cum animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur. Quæ ubi tardius procedunt neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

XII. Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros finisque imperi singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. Reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris alius alio concessere. Sed Hiempsal in oppido Thirmida forte ejus domo utebatur, qui proximus lictor Jugurthæ carus acceptusque ei semper fuerat; quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat inpellitque, uti tamquam suam visens domum eat, portarum clavis adulterinas paret (nam veræ ad Hiempsalem referebantur); ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu venturum. Numida mandata brevi conficit atque, uti doctus erat, noctu Jugurthæ milites introducit. Qui postquam in ædis inrupere, divorsi regem quærere, dormientis alios, alios occursantis interficere, scrutari loca abdita, clausa effringere, strepitu et tumultu omnia

miscere; quom interim Hiempsal reperitur occultans sese tugurio mulieris ancillæ, quo initio pavidus et 6 ignarus loci perfugerat. Numidæ caput ejus, uti jussi erant, ad Jugurtham referunt.

1 XIII. Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi divulgatur; Adherbalem omnisque, qui sub imperio Micipsæ fuerant, metus invadit; in duas partis discedunt Numidæ; plures Adherbalem 2 sequuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha quam maxumas potest copias armat, urbis partim vi, alias voluntate imperio suo adjungit, omni 3 Numidiæ imperare parat. Adherbal, tametsi Romam legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de cæde fratris et fortunis suis, tamen fretus multitudine militum, 4 parabat armis contendere. Sed ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex proelio profugit in provinciam ac 5 deinde Romam contendit. Tum Jugurtha patris consiliis, postquam omnis Numidiæ potiebatur, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum neque advorsus iram ejus usquam nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua spem habere. 6 Itaque paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo legatos Romam mittit, quis præcepit, primum uti veteres amicos muneribus expleant, deinde novos 7 adquirant, postremo quæcunque possint largiundo parare ne cunctentur. Sed ubi Romam legati venerunt et ex præcepto regis hospitibus aliisque, quorum ea tempestate in senatu auctoritas pollebat, magna munera misere, tanta commutatio incessit, uti ex maxima invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha 8 veniret; quorum pars spe, alii præmio inducti, singulos ex senatu ambiundo nitebantur, ne gravius in 9 eum consuleretur. Igitur ubi legati satis confidunt, die constituto senatus utrisque datur. Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus:

1 XIV. Patres Conscripti, Micipsa pater meus moriens mihi præcepit, uti regni Numidiæ tantummodo procuratorem existumarem meam, ceterum jus et imperium ejus penes vos esse; simul eniterer domi militiæque quam maximo usui esse populo Romano;

vos mihi cognatorum, vos adfinium loco ducerem : si ea fecissem, in vostra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni me habiturum. Quæ quom præ- 2 cepta parentis mei agitare, Jugurtha, homo omnium, quos terra sustinet, sceleratissimus, contempto imperio vostro, Masinissæ me nepotem et jam ab stirpe socium atque amicum populi Romani regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque ego, Patres 3 Conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram, vellem potius ob mea quam ob majorum meorum beneficia posse a vobis auxilium petere, ac maxime deberi mihi beneficia a populo Romano, quibus non egerem ; secundum, ea si desideranda erant uti debitis uterer. Sed quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa 4 probitas est, neque mihi in manu fuit, Jugurtha qualis foret, ad vos confugi, Patres Conscripti, quibus, quod mihi miserrimum est, cogor prius oneri quam usui esse. Ceteri reges aut bello victi in amicitiam 5 a vobis recepti sunt, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vostram adpetiverunt ; familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit, quo tempore magis fides ejus quam fortuna petenda erat. Quorum progeniem vos, Patres Con- 6 scripti, nolite pati me nepotem Masinissæ frustra a vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum nihil 7 causæ haberem præter miserandam fortunam, quod paullo ante rex genere, fama atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus ærumnis, inops, alienas opes exspecto, tamen erat majestatis Romani populi prohibere injuriam neque pati cujusquam regnum per scelus crescere. Verum ego iis finibus ejectus sum, 8 quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit, unde pater et avos meus una vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginiensis. Vostra beneficia mihi erepta sunt, Patres Conscripti, vos in mea injuria despecti estis. Eheu me miserum ! Hucine, Micipsa pater, 9 beneficia tua evasere, ut, quem tu parem cum liberis tuis regnique participem fecisti, is potissimum stirpis tuæ extinctor sit ? Nunquam ergo familia nostra quieta erit ? semperne in sanguine, ferro, fuga versa-

- 10 bimur? Dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, jure omnia sæva patiebamur; hostes ab latere vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat. Postquam illa pestis ex Africa ejecta est, læti pacem agitabamus, quippe quis hostis nullus erat, nisi forte quem vos
- 11 jussissetis. Ecce autem ex inproviso Jugurtha, intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia sese ecferens, fratre meo atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto, primum regnum ejus sceleris sui prædam fecit, post, ubi me isdem dolis non quit capere, nihil minus quam vim aut bellum expectantem in imperio vostro, sicuti videtis, extorrem patria, domo, inopem et coopertum miseriis effecit, ut ubivis tutius quam in
- 12 meo regno essem. Ego sic existumabam, Patres Conscripti, uti prædicantem audiveram patrem meum, qui vostram amicitiam diligenter colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere, ceterum ex omnibus maxime
- 13 tutos esse. Quod in familia nostra fuit, præstitit, uti in omnibus bellis adesset vobis; nos uti per otium tuti simus, in vostra manu est, Patres Conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit; tertium, Jugurtham, beneficiis suis ratus est conjunctum nobis fore. Alter eorum necatus est, alterius ipse ego
- 15 manus inpias vix effugi. Quid agam? aut quo potissimum infelix accedam? Generis præsidia omnia extincta sunt; pater, uti necesse erat, naturæ concessit; fratri, quem minime decuit, propinquus per scelus vitam eripuit; adfinis, amicos, propinquos ceteros alium alia clades oppressit; capti ab Jugurtha pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti sunt; pauci, quibus relicta est anima, clausi in tenebris, cum mærore
- 16 et luctu morte graviolem vitam exigunt. Si omnia, quæ aut amisi aut ex necessariis advorsa facta sunt, incolumia manerent, tamen, si quid ex inproviso mali accidisset, vos inplorarem, Patres Conscripti, quibus pro magnitudine imperi jus et injurias omnis
- 17 curæ esse decet. Nunc vero exul patria, domo, solus atque omnium honestarum rerum egens, quo accedam aut quos adpellem? nationesne an reges, qui omnes familiæ nostræ ob vostram amicitiam infesti

sunt? An quoquam mihi adire licet, ubi non majorum meorum hostilia monumenta plurima sint? aut quisquam nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit? Postremo Masinissa nos ita insti- 18
tuit, Patres Conscripti, ne quem coleremus nisi populum Romanum, ne societates, ne foedera nova acciperemus; abunde magna praesidia nobis in vostra amicitia fore; si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, una occidendum nobis esse. Virtute ac dis volentibus 19
magni estis et opulenti; omnia secunda et obedientia sunt; quo facilius sociorum injurias curare licet. Tantum illud vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugur- 20
thæ parum cognita transvorsos agat, quos ego audio maxuma ope niti, ambire, fatigare vos singulos, ne quid de absente incognita causa statuatis, fingere me verba et fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere. Quod utinam illum, cujus inpio facinore 21
in has miserias projectus sum, eadem hæc simulantem videam, et aliquando aut apud vos aut apud deos immortalis rerum humanarum cura oriatur; næ ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque præclarus est, omnibus malis excruciatu inpietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis mearumque miseriorum gravis poenas reddat. Jamjam frater, animo 22
meo carissime, quamquam tibi immaturo et unde minime decuit vita erepta est, tamen lætandum magis quam dolendum puto casum tuum; non enim regnum, sed fugam, exilium, egestatem et omnis 23
has, quæ me premunt, ærumnas cum anima simul amisisti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala præcipitatus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum præbeo, incertus quid agam, tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxili egens, an regno consulam, cujus vitæ necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. Utinam emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset! 24
neu vivere contemptus viderer, si defessus malis injuriæ concessissem. Nunc neque vivere lubet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. Patres Conscripti, 25
per vos, per liberos atque parentes vestros, per majestatem populi Romani subvenite misero mihi, ite

obviam injuriæ, nolite pati regnum Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familiæ nostræ tabescere.

- 1 XV. Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthæ, largitione magis quam causa freti, paucis respondent: Hiempsalem ob sævitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum; Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri, quod injuriam facere nequivisset: Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne se alium putarent, ac Numantiæ cognitus esset, ne
2 verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent. Deinde utrique curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur: fautores legatorum, præterea magna pars gratia depravata, Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Jugurthæ virtutem extollere laudibus; gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio sua quasi
3 pro gloria nitebantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum et æquum divitiis carius erat, subveniendum Adherbali et Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam
4 censebant; sed ex omnibus maxime Æmilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, inpiger, factiosus, avidus potentiæ, honoris, divitiarum, ceterum vitia sua callide occultans. Is postquam videt regis largitionem famosam
5 inpudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubricitate continuit.
- 1 XVI. Vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quæ vero
2 pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. Decretum fit, uti decem legati regnum, quod Micipsa obtinuerat, inter Jugurtham et Adherbalem dividerent. Cujus legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus et tum in senatu potens, quia consul, C. Graccho et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis, acerrime victoriam nobilitatis
3 in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha tametsi Romæ in inimicis habuerat, tamen adcuratissime recepit, dando et pollicitando multa perfecit, uti famæ, fide, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferet. Reliquos legatos eadem via adgressus, plerosque capit; paucis carior fides quam pecunia fuit.
5 In divisione, quæ pars Numidiæ Mauretaniam ad-

tingit, agro virisque opulentior, Jugurthæ traditur: illam alteram specie quam usu potiore, quæ portuosior et ædificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

XVII. Res postulare videtur Africæ situm paucis 1
exponere et eas gentis, quibuscum nobis bellum aut
amicitia fuit, adtingere. Sed quæ loca et nationes 2
ob calorem aut asperitatem, item solitudines minus
frequentata sunt, de is haud facile compertum narra-
verim; cetera quam paucissumis absolvam. In divi- 3
sione orbis terræ plerique in partem tertiam Africam
posuere, pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam esse,
sed Africam in Europa. Ea finis habet ab occidente 4
fretum nostri maris et Oceani, ab ortu solis declivem
latitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolæ ad-
pellant. Mare sævom, inportuosum, ager frugum 5
fertilis, bonus pecori, arbore infecundus, cælo terra-
que penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri cor- 6
pore, velox, patiens laborum; plerosque senectus
dissolvit, nisi qui ferro aut bestiis interiere; nam
morbus haud sæpe quemquam superat; ad hoc male-
fici generis pluruma animalia. Sed qui mortales 7
initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint,
aut quomodo inter se permixti sint, quamquam ab
ea fama, quæ plerosque obtinet, divorsum est, tamen
uti ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur,
interpretatum nobis est, utique rem sese habere
cultores ejus terræ putant, quam paucissumis dicam.
Ceterum fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

XVIII. Africam initio habuere Gætuli et Libyes, 1
aspero incultique, quis cibus erat caro ferina atque
humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus 2
neque lege aut imperio cujusquam regebantur; vagi,
palantes, qua nox coëgerat, sedes habebant. Sed 3
postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicuti Afri putant,
interiit, exercitus ejus, conpositus ex variis gentibus,
amisso duce ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium
petentibus, brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, 4
Persæ et Armenii, navibus in Africam transvecti,
proximos nostro mari locos occupavere. Sed Persæ 5

- intra Oceanum magis ; hique alveos navium invorsos
 pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia in agris
 neque ab Hispanis emundi aut mutandi copia erat ;
 6 mare magnum et ignara lingua commercia prohibe-
 7 bant. Hi paullatim per connubia Gætulos secum
 miscuere, et quia sæpe temptantes agros alia, deinde
 alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Nomadas adpellavere.
 8 Ceterum adhuc ædificia Numidarum agrestium, quæ
 mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta,
 9 quasi navium carinæ sunt. Medi autem et Armenii
 accessere Libyes (nam hi propius mare Africum agi-
 tabant, Gætuli sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardori-
 bus ;) hique mature oppida habuere ; nam freto
 divisi ab Hispania mutare res inter se instituerant.
 10 Nomen eorum paullatim Libyes conrupere, barbara
 11 lingua Mauros pro Medis adpellantes. Sed res Per-
 sarum brevi adolevit ; ac postea nomine Numidæ,
 propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possedere
 ea loca, quæ proxume Carthaginem Numidia adpella-
 12 tur. Deinde utrique alteris freti finitimos armis
 aut metu sub imperium suum coëgere, nomen glo-
 riamque sibi addidere ; magis ii, qui ad nostrum
 mare processerant, quia Libyes quam Gætuli minus
 bellicosi. Denique Africæ pars inferior pleraque ab
 Numidis possessa est ; victi omnes in gentem nomen-
 que imperantium concessere.
- 1 XIX. Postea Phœnices, alii multitudinis domi
 minuendæ gratia, pars imperi cupidine, sollicitata
 plebe et aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Ha-
 drumetum, Leptim aliasque urbis in ora maritima
 condidere, hæque brevi multum auctæ, pars originibus
 2 suis præsidio, aliæ decori fuere. Nam de Carthagine
 silere melius puto quam parum dicere, quoniam alio
 3 properare tempus monet. Igitur ad Catabathmon,
 qui locus Ægyptum ab Africa dividit, secundo mari
 prima Cyrene est, colonia Theræon, ac deinceps duæ
 Syrtes, interque eas Leptis ; deinde Philænon aræ,
 quem locum Ægyptum vorsus finem imperi habuere
 4 Carthaginienses, post aliæ Punicæ urbes. Cetera
 loca usque ad Mauretanium Numidæ tenent ; proxume

Hispaniam Mauri sunt. Super Numidiam Gætu- 5
los accepimus partim in tuguriis, alios incultius 6
vagos agitare, post eos Æthiopas esse, dein loca ex-
usta solis ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino pleraque 7
ex Punicis oppida et finis Carthaginensium, quos
novissime habuerant, populus Romanus per magis-
tratus administrabat, Gætulorum magna pars et Nu-
midæ usque ad flumen Mulucham sub Jugurtha
erant, Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat,
præter nomen cetera ignarus populi Romani, itemque
nobis neque bello neque pace antea cognitus. De 8
Africa et ejus incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis
dictum.

XX. Postquam, diviso regno, legati Africa deces- 1
sere, et Jugurtha contra timorem animi præmia
sceleris adeptum sese videt, certum ratus, quod ex
amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romæ
venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus accen-
sus, quos paullo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum
Adherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus; 2
at is, quem petebat, quietus, inbellis, placido ingenio,
opportunistis injuriæ, metuens magis quam metuendus.
Igitur ex improviso finis ejus cum magna manu 3
invadit; multos mortalis cum pecore atque alia
præda capit, ædificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter
cum equitatu accedit, deinde cum omni multitudine 4
in regnum suum convortit, existumans dolore permo-
tum Adherbalem injurias suas manu vindicaturum,
eamque rem belli causam fore. At ille, quod neque 5
se parem armis existumabat et amicitia populi Ro-
mani magis quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad
Jugurtham de injuriis questum misit; qui tametsi
contumeliosa dicta rettulerant, prius tamen omnia
pati decrevit quam bellum sumere, quia temptatum
antea secus cesserat. Neque eo magis cupido Jugur- 6
thæ minuebatur, quippe qui totum ejus regnum animo
jam invaserat. Itaque non uti antea cum prædatoria 7
manu, sed magno exercitu comparato bellum gerere
cœpit et aperte totius Numidæ imperium petere.

- 8 Ceterum qua pergebat urbis, agros vastare, prædas agere, suis animum, hostibus terrorem augere.
- 1 XXI. Adherbal ubi intellegit eo processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat et Jugurthæ obuius procedit.
- 2 Interim haud longe a mari prope Cirtam oppidum utriusque exercitus consedit, et quia diei extremum erat, prœlium non inceptum. Sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiamtum lumine, milites Jugurthini signo dato castra hostium invadunt; semisomnos partim, alios arma sumentis fugant funduntque; Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit, et ni multitudo togatorum fuisset, quæ Numidas insequentis mœnibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges coeptum atque patratum bellum
- 3 foret. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumscedit, vineis turribusque et machinis omnium generum expugnare adgreditur, maxume festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos ante prœlium factum ab Ad-
- 4 herbale Romam missos audiverat. Sed postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres adulescentes in Africam legantur, qui ambos reges adeant, senatus populique Romani verbis nuntient: velle et censere eos ab armis discedere, de controversiis suis jure potius quam bello disceptare; ita seque illisque dignum esse.
- 1 XXII. Legati in Africam maturantes veniunt, eo magis quod Romæ, dum proficisci parant, de prœlio facto et oppugnatione Cirtæ audiebatur; sed is rumor
- 2 clemens erat. Quorum Jugurtha accepta oratione respondit: sibi neque majus quidquam neque carius auctoritate senatus esse; ab adulescentia ita se enisum, ut ab optumo quoque probaretur; virtute, non malitia P. Scipioni, summo viro, placuisse; ob easdem artis ab Micipsa, non penuria liberorum, in regnum
- 3 adoptatum esse. Ceterum quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum injuriam minus tolerare: Adherbalem dolis vitæ suæ insidiatum;
- 4 quod ubi conperisset, scelerei ejus obviam isse; populum

Romanum neque recte neque pro bono facturum, si ab jure gentium sese prohibuerit; postremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi missurum. Ita utrique 5 digrediuntur. Adherbalis adpellandi copia non fuit.

XXIII. Jugurtha ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus 1 est, neque propter loci naturam Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo atque fossa mœnia circumdat, turris exstruit easque præsidiis firmat, præterea dies noctisque aut per vim aut dolis temptare, defensoribus mœnium præmia modo, modo formidinem ostentare, suos hortando ad virtutem arrigere, prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal, ubi intellegit 2 omnis suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum, auxilii spem nullam, penuria rerum necessariarum bellum trahi non posse, ex is, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duos maxime inpigros delegit; eos multa pollicendo ac miserando casum suum confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent.

XXIV. Numidæ paucis diebus jussa efficiunt; litteræ Adherbalis in senatu recitatæ, quarum sententia hæc fuit: Non mea culpa sæpe ad vos oratum mitto, 2 Patres Conscripti, sed vis Jugurthæ subigit, quem tanta lubido exstinguendi me inyasit, ut neque vos neque deos immortalis in animo habeat, sanguinem meum quam omnia malit. Itaque quintum jam 3 mensem socius et amicus populi Romani armis obsessus teneor, neque mihi Micipsæ patris mei beneficia neque vostra decreta auxiliantur; ferro an fame acrius (urguear) incertus sum. Plura de 4 Jugurtha scribere dehortatur me fortuna mea; et jam antea expertus sum parum fidei miseris esse; nisi tamen intellego illum supra quam ego sum petere, 5 neque simul amicitiam vestram et regnum meum sperare. Utrum gravius existumet, nemini occultum est. Nam initio occidit Hiempsalem, fratrem 6 meum, dein patrio regno me expulit; quæ sane fuerint nostræ injuriæ, nihil ad vos. Verum nunc 7 vestrum regnum armis tenet, me, quem vos imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum obsidet; legato-

rum verba quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant.
 8 Quid reliquum nisi vōstra vis, quo moveri possit?
 9 Nam ego quidem vellem et hæc, quæ scribo, et illa,
 quæ antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius,
 10 quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed quoniam
 eo natus sum, ut Jugurthæ scelerum ostentui
 essem, non jam mortem neque ærumnas, tantummodo
 inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor.
 Regno Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, uti lubet consulite;
 me ex manibus iniis eripite per majestatem
 imperi, per amicitia fidem, si ulla apud vos memoria
 remanet avi mei Masinissæ. *

1 XXV. His litteris recitatis fuere, qui exercitum in
 Africam mittendum censerent et quam primum Adherbali
 subveniendum; de Jugurtha interim uti consuleretur,
 2 quoniam legatis non paruisset. Sed ab isdem illis regis
 fautoribus summa ope enisum, ne tale decretum fieret.
 3 Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet,
 4 privata gratia devictum. Legantur tamen in Africam
 majores natu, nobiles, amplis honoribus usi;
 in quis fuit M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus,
 consularis et tum in senatu princeps.
 5 Hi, quod res in invidia erat, simul et ab Numidis
 obsecrati, triduo navim ascendere, dein brevi Uticam
 adpulsi litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, quam ocis
 6 sume ad provinciam accedat, seque ad eum ab senatu
 missos. Ille ubi accepit homines claros, quorum
 auctoritatem Romæ pollere audiverat, contra inceptum
 suum venisse, primo conmotus, metu atque
 7 lubricine divorsus agitabatur. Timebat iram senatus,
 ni paruisset legatis; porro animus cupidine cæcus
 8 ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. Vicit tamen in avido
 9 ingenio pravum consilium. Igitur exercitu circumdato
 summa vi Cirtam inrumpere nititur, maxime sperans,
 diducta manu hostium aut vi aut dolis sese casum
 10 victoriae inventurum. Quod ubi secus procedit neque
 quod intenderat efficere potest, ut prius quam legatos
 conveniret, Adherbalis potiretur; ne amplius morando
 Scaurum, quem plurimum metuebat, incenderet,
 11 cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac tametsi

senati ~~verbis~~ graves minæ nuntiabantur, quod ab oppugnatione non desisteret, multa tamen oratione consumpta legati frustra discessere.

XXVI. Ea postquam Cirtæ audita sunt, Italici, 1 quorum virtute mœnia defensabantur, confisi deditio-
ne facta propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore. Adherbali suadent, uti seque et oppidum Jugurthæ tradat, tantum ab eo vitam pacis-
catur, de ceteris senatui curæ fore. At ille, tametsi 2 omnia potiora fide Jugurthæ rebatur, tamen quia penes eosdem, si adversaretur, cogundi potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici, deditio-
nem facit. Jugur- 3 tha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat, deinde omnis puberes Numidas atque negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatis obvi-
us fuerat, interficit. ✓

XXVII. Quod postquam Romæ cognitum est, et 1 res in senatu agitari cœpta, idem illi ministri regis interpellando ac sæpe gratia, interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac ni 2 C. Memmius, tribunus plebis designatus, vir acer et infestus potentiæ nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset id agi, ut per paucos factiosos Jugurthæ scelus condonaretur, profecto omnis invidia prolatan-
dis consultationibus dilapsa foret: tanta vis gratiæ atque pecuniæ regis erat. Sed ubi senatus delicti 3 conscientia populum timet, lege Sempronia provinciæ futuris consulibus Numidia atque Italia decretæ; consules declarati P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Calpur- 4 nius; Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit. Deinde exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, scribi 5 tur; stipendium aliaque, quæ bello usui forent, decernuntur.

XXVIII. At Jugurtha, contra spem nuntio accepto, 1 quippe cui Romæ omnia venum ire in animo hæserat, filium et cum eo duos familiaris ad senatum legatos mittit, hisque ut illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, præcipit, omnis mortalis pecunia adgrediantur. Qui postquam Romam adventabant, senatus a Bestia 2 consultus est, placeretne legatos Jugurthæ recipi mœnibus; iique decrevere, nisi regnum ipsumque

- deditum venissent, uti in diebus proxumis decem
 3 Italia decederent. Consul Numidis ex senati decreto
 nuntiari jubet; ita infectis rebus illi domum disce-
 4 dunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, legat
 sibi homines nobilis, factiosos, quorum auctoritate,
 quæ deliquisset, munita fore sperabat; in quis fuit
 Scaurus, cujus de natura et habitu supra memoravi-
 5 mus. Nam in consule nostro multæ bonæque artes
 animi et corporis erant, quas omnis avaritia præpe-
 diebat; patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis provi-
 dens, belli haud ignarus, firmissimus contra pericula
 6 et insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam Rhegium atque
 inde Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam transvectæ.
 7 Igitur Calpurnius initio, paratis com meatibus, acriter
 Numidiam ingressus est, multosque mortalis et urbis
 aliquot pugnando cepit.
- 1 XXIX. Sed ubi Jugurtha, per legatos pecunia
 temptare bellicue quod administrabat asperitatem
 ostendere cœpit, animus æger avaritia facile convor-
 2 sus est. Ceterum socius et administer omnium con-
 siliorum adsumitur Scaurus, qui tametsi a principio,
 plerisque ex factione ejus corruptis, acerrume regem
 in pugnaverant, tamen magnitudine pecuniæ a bono
 3 honestoque in pravom abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha
 primo tantummodo belli moram redimebat, existu-
 mans sese aliquid interim Romæ pretio aut gratia
 effecturum; postea vero quam participem negoti
 Scaurum accepit, in maxumam spem adductus, recu-
 perandæ pacis, statuit cum eis de omnibus pactioni-
 4 bus præsens agere. Ceterum interea fidei causa
 mittitur a consule Sextius quæstor in oppidum Ju-
 gurthæ Vagam; cujus rei species erat acceptio fru-
 menti, quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat,
 5 quoniam deditionis mora induciæ agitabantur. Igitur
 rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit, ac pauca præ-
 senti consilio locutus de invidia facti sui atque uti
 in deditionem acciperetur, reliqua cum Bestia et
 Scauro secreta transigit, dein postero die, quasi per
 saturam sententiis exquisitis, in deditionem accipitur.
- 6 Sed uti pro consilio imperatum erat, elephantum triginta,

pecus atque equi multi cum parvo argenti pondere quaestori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur. In Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

XXX. Postquam res in Africa gestas quoque modo 1 actæ forent fama divulgavit, Romæ per omnis locos et conventus de facto consulis agitari. Apud plebem ^{agitatione} gravis invidia, patres solliciti erant; probarentne ^{veto} tantum flagitium, an decretum consulis subverterent, parum constabat. Ac maxume eos potentia 2 Scauri, quod is auctor et socius Bestiæ ferebatur, a vero bonoque inpediebat. At C. Memmius, cujus de libertate ingeni et odio potentiæ nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras senatus concionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari, monere, ne rem publicam, ne libertatem suam desererent, multa superba et crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere; prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed quoniam ea tempestate Romæ 3 Memmi facundia clara pollensque fuit, decere existumavi unam ex tam multis orationem ejus perscribere; ac potissimum ea dicam, quæ in concione post reditum Bestiæ hujuscemodi verbis disseruit: ^{aperta}

XXXI. Multa me dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni 1 studium rei publicæ omnia superet, opes factionis, vostra patientia, jus nullum, ac maxume, quod innocentiae plus periculi quam honoris est. Nam illa qui- 2 dem piget dicere, his annis XX. quam ludibrio fueritis superbiæ paucorum, quam fœde quamque inulti perierint vestri defensores, ut vobis animus ab ignavia 3 atque socordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem, obnoxii inimicis, exsurgitis, atque etiam nunc timetis eos, quibus decet terrori esse. Sed quamquam hæc 4 talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis potentiæ animus subigit. Certe ego libertatem, quæ mihi a parente 5 meo tradita est, experiar; verum id frustra an ob rem faciam, in vostra manu situm est, Quirites. Ne- 6 que ego vos hortor, quod sæpe majores vestri fecere, uti contra injurias armati eati. Nihil vi, nihil secessionem opus est: necesse est suomet ipsi more præ-

- 7 cipites eant. Occiso Ti. Graccho, quem regnum
parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quæstiones ha-
bitæ sunt. Post C. Gracchi et M. Fulvi cædem item
vostri ordinis multi mortales in carcere necati sunt;
utriusque cladis non lex, verum libido eorum finem
8 fecit. Sed sane fuerit regni paratio plebi sua resti-
tuere; quidquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci ne-
9 quitur, jure factum sit. Superioribus annis taciti in-
dignabamini ærarium expilari, reges et populos liberos
paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere, penes eosdem et
summam gloriam et maximas divitias esse; tamen
hæc talia facinora impune suscepisse parum habuerat.
Itaque postremo leges, majestas vostra, divina et
10 humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos,
qui ea fecere, pudet aut poenitet, sed incedunt per
ora vostra magnifici, sacerdotia et consulatus, pars
triumphos suos ostentantes, perinde quasi ea honori
11 non prædæ habeant. Servi ære parati injusta imperia
dominorum non perferunt; vos, Quirites, imperio nati,
12 æquo animo servitutem toleratis? At qui sunt hi
qui rem publicam occupavere? Homines sceleratis-
sumi, cruentis manibus, inhumani avaritia, nocentis-
sumi idemque superbissimi, quibus fides, decus,
pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia
13 quæstui sunt. Pars eorum occidissee tribunos plebis,
alii quæstiones injustas, plerique cædem in vos fecisse,
14 pro munimento habent. Ita quam quisque pessume
fecit, tam maxume tutus est; metum a scelere suo
ad ignaviam vestram transtulere; quos omnis eadem
cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coëgit.
15 Sed hæc inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est.
16 Quodsi tam vos libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi
ad dominationem accensi sunt, profecto neque res
publica, sicuti nunc, vastaretur, et beneficia vostra
17 penes contemptos, non audacissimos, forent. Majores
vostri parandi juris et majestatis constituendæ gratia
bis per secessionem armati Aventinum occupavere,
vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, non summa
ope nitemini? atque eo vehementius, quo majus
dedecus est parta amittere quam omnino non para-

visse. Dicet aliquis: Quid igitur censes? Vindi- 18
 candum in eos, qui hosti prodidere rem publicam?
 Non manu neque vi, quod magis vos fecisse quam
 illis accidissee indignum est, verum quaestionibus et
 indicio ipsius Jugurthae, qui si dediticius est, profecto 19
 jussis vestris obediens erit; sin ea contemnit, scilicet
 existumabitis, qualis illa pax aut deditio sit, ex qua
 ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentis
 maxumae divitiae, in rem publicam ^{damna} atque
 dedecora pervenerint; nisi forte nondum etiam vos 20
 dominationis eorum satietas tenet, et illa quam haec
 tempora magis placent, quom regna, provinciae, leges,
 jura, judicia, bella atque paces, postremo divina et
 humana omnia penes paucos erant; vos autem, hoc
 est, populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, impera-
 tores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam
 retinere; nam servitutem quidem quis vestrum re-
 cusare audebat? Atque ego, tametsi viro flagitio- 21
 sissumum existumo impune injuriam accepisse, tamen
 vos hominibus sceleratissimis ignoscere, quoniam
 cives sunt, aequo animo paterer, nisi misericordia in
 perniciem casura esset. Nam et illis, quantum in- 22
 fortunatis habent, parum est impune male fecisse,
 nisi deinde faciendi licentia eripitur, et vobis aeterna
 sollicitudo remanebit, quom intellegetis aut servi-
 undum esse aut per manus libertatem retinendam.
 Nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quae spes est? 23
 Dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse, facere illi in-
 jurias, vos prohibere; postremo sociis vestris veluti
 hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in 24
 tam divorsis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse? Quare 25
 moneo hortorque vos, ne tantum scelus impunitum
 omittatis. Non peculatus avari factus est, neque per
 vim sociis ereptae pecuniae, quae quamquam gravia
 sunt, tamen consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur:
 hosti acerrumo prodita senatus auctoritas, proditum
 imperium vestrum, domi militiaeque res publica ve-
 nalis fuit. Quae nisi quaesita erunt, nisi vindicatum 26
 in noxios, quid erit reliquum, nisi ut illis, qui ea
 fecere, obediens vivamus? nam impune quaelibet

27 facere, id est regem esse. Neque ego vos, Quirites, hortor, ut malitis civis vestros perperam quam recte fecisse, sed ne ignoscendo malis bonos perditum eati.

28 Ad hoc in re publica multo præstat benefici quam malefici inmemorem esse; bonus tantummodo segnius fit, ubi negligas, at malus inprobior. Ad hoc si injuriæ non sint, haud sæpe auxili egeas.

1 XXXII. Hæc atque alia hujuscemodi sæpe dicundo Memmius populo persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum prætor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur eumque interposita fide publica Romam duceret, quo facilius indicio regis Scauri et reliquorum, quos pecuniæ

2 captæ arcèsserant, delicta patefierent. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, qui in Numidia relictæ a Bestia exercitui præerant, secuti morem imperatoris sui

3 plurima et flagitiosissima facinora fecere. Fuere qui auro corrupti elephantos Jugurthæ traderent, qui

4 alii perugas vendere, pars ex pacatis prædas agebant. tanta vis avaritiæ in animos eorum veluti tabes in-

5 vaserat. At Cassius, perlata rogatione a C. Memmio ac percussa, omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham profisciscitur eique timido et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis persuadet, quoniam se populo Romano dedisset, ne vim quam misericordiam ejus experiri mallet. Privatinim præterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris quam publicam ducebat; talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat.

1 XXXIII. Igitur Jugurtha contra decus regium cultu quam maxime miserabili cum Cassio Romam venit. Ac tametsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat, quæ supra diximus, C. Bæbium tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cujus impudentia contra jus et injurias omnis munitus foret.

3 At C. Memmius, advocata concione, quamquam regi infesta plebes erat, et pars in vincula duci jubebat, pars, ni socios sceleris sui aperiret, more majorum de hoste supplicium sumi; dignitati quam iræ magis consulens, sedare motus et animos eorum mollire, postremo confirmare, fidem publicam per sese invio-

latam fore. Post, ubi silentium cœpit, producto Jugurtha, verba facit; Romæ Numidiæque facinora ejus memorat, scelera in patrem fratresque ostendit. Quibus juvantibus quibusque ministris ea egerit, quamquam intellegat populus Romanus, tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere. Si verum aperiatur, in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam; sin reticeat, non sociis saluti fore, sed se suasque spes corrupturum.

XXXIV. Deinde, ubi Memmius dicundi finem fecit et Jugurtha respondere jussus est, C. Bæbius, tribunus plebis, quem pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere jubet, ac tametsi multitudo, quæ in concione aderat, vehementer accensa, terrebat eum clamore, vultu, sæpe inpetu atque aliis omnibus, quæ ira fieri amat, vicit tamen inpudentia. Ita populus ludibrio habitus ex concione discedit: Jugurthæ Bestiæque et ceteris, quos illa quæstio exagitabat, animi augescunt.

XXXV. Erat ea tempestate Romæ Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, Gulussæ filius, Masinissæ nepos; qui, quia in dissensione regum Jugurthæ adversus fuerat, dedita Cirta et Adherbale interfecto, profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui proximo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissæ sit, Jugurthamque ob scelera invidia cum metu urgeat, regnum Numidiæ ab senatu petat. Avidus consul belli gerundi moveri quam senescere omnia malebat; ipsi provincia Numidia, Minucio Macedonia venerat. Quæ postquam Massiva agitare cœpit, neque Jugurthæ in amicis satis præsidii est, quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et timor inpediebat, Bomilcari, proximo ac maxime fido sibi, imperat, pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivæ paret, ac maxime occulte, sin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat. Bomilcar mature regis mandata exsequitur, et per homines talis negoti artifices itinera egressusque ejus, postremo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat, deinde,

- 6 ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad cædem parati erant, paullo inconsultius Massivam adgreditur; illum obtruncat, sed ipse deprehensus, multis hortantibus et in primis
- 7 Albino consule, indicium profitetur. Fit reus magis ex æquo bonoque quam ex jure gentium Bomilcar, comes ejus, qui Romam fide publica venerat. At Jugurtha manifestus tanti sceleris non prius omisit contra verum niti, quam animum advortit, supra gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse.
- 9 Igitur, quamquam in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat, regno magis quam vadibus consulens, clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit, veritus ne reliquos popularis metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumptum foret; et ipse paucis diebus eodem profectus est, jussus a senatu
- 10 Italia decedere. Sed postquam Roma egressus est, fertur sæpe eo tacitus respiciens postremo dixisse: urbem venalem et mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit.
- 1 XXXVI. Interim Albinus renovato bello comeatum, stipendium aliaque, quæ militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat, armis aut deditione aut quovis modo bellum
- 2 conficeret. At contra Jugurtha trahere omnia et alias deinde alias moræ causas facere, polliceri deditionem, ac deinde metum simulare, cedere instanti et paullo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare; ita belli modo,
- 3 modo pacis mora consulem ludificare. Ac fuere, qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consili regis existumarent, neque ex tanta properantia tam facile tractum
- 4 bellum socordia magis quam dolo crederent. Sed postquam dilapso tempore comitiorum dies adventabat, Albinus, Aulo fratre in castris pro prætore relicto, Romam decessit.
- 1 XXXVII. Ea tempestate Romæ seditionibus tribuniciiis atrociter res publica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius, tribuni plebis, resistantibus conlegis, continuare magistratum nitebantur, quæ dissensio

totius anni comitia inpediebat. Ea mora in spem 3 adductus Aulus, quem pro prætore in castris relictum supra diximus, aut conficiundi belli aut terrore exercitus ab rege pecuniæ capiundæ, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat, magnisque itineribus, hieme aspera, pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquam 4 et sævitia temporis et opportunitate loci neque capi neque obsideri poterat, (nam circum murum situm in prærupti montis extremo planities limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat) tamen aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine cæcus ob thesauros oppidi potiundi, vineas agere, aggerem jacere, aliaque, quæ incepto usui forent, properare.

XXXVIII. At Jugurtha, cognita vanitate atque 1 inperitia legati, subdolus ejus augere amentiam, misitare supplicantis legatos, ipse quasi vitabundus per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare. Denique 2 Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti relicto Suthule in abditas regiones sese veluti cedentem insequeretur; ita delicta occultiora fore. Interea per homines 3 callidos diu noctuque exercitum temptabat; centuriones ducesque turmarum partim uti transfugerent corrumpere, alii signo dato locum uti desererent. Quæ 4 postquam ex sententia instruit, intempesta nocte de inproviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, perculsi tumultu insolito, arma 5 capere alii, alii se abdere, pars territos confirmare, trepidare omnibus locis; vis magna hostium, cælum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum, periculum anceps, postremo fugere an manere tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed 6 ex eo numero, quos paullo ante corruptos diximus, cohors una Ligurum cum duabus turmis Thracum et paucis gregariis militibus transiere ad regem, et centurio primi pili tertiæ legionis per munitionem, quam uti defenderet acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit, eaque Numidæ cuncti inrupere. Nostri fœda fuga, 7 plerique abjectis armis, proximum collem occupavere. Nox atque præda castrorum hostis, quo minus vic- 8

9 toria uterentur, remorata sunt. Deinde Jugurtha postero die cum Aulo in conloquio verba facit: tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame et ferro clausum tenet, tamen se memorem humanarum rerum, si secum foedus faceret, incolumis omnis subjugum misurum; præterea uti diebus decem Numidia decederet. Quæ quamquam gravia et flagiti plena erant, tamen, quia mortis metu mutabantur, sicuti regi lubuerat, pax convenit.

1 XXXIX. Sed ubi ea Romæ conperta sunt, metus atque mæror civitatem invasere. Pars dolere pro gloria imperi, pars insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati, Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxume, qui bello sæpe præclari fuerant, quod armatus dedecore potius
2 quam manu salutem quæsiverat. Ob ea consul Albinus ex delicto fratris invidiam ac deinde periculum timens, senatum de foedere consulebat, et tamen interim exercitui supplementum scribere, ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia accersere, denique omnibus
3 modis festinare. Senatus ita, uti par fuerat, decernit, suo atque populi injussu nullum potuisse foedus fieri.
4 Consul inpeditus a tribunis plebis, ne, quas paraverat copias, secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur; nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat,
5 Numidia deductus, in provincia hiemabat. Postquam eo venit, quamquam persequi Jugurtham et mederi fraternæ invidiæ animo ardebat, cognitis militibus, quos præter fugam, soluto imperio, licentia atque lascivia corruperat, ex copia rerum statuit sibi nihil agitandum.

1 XL. Interim Romæ C. Mamilius Limetanus tribunus plebis rogationem ad populum promulgat, uti quæreretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta neglegisset, quique ab eo in legationibus aut imperiis pecunias acceperant, qui elephantos quique perfugas tradidissent, item qui de pace aut bello cum
2 hostibus pactiones fecissent. Huic rogationi partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur, occulte per

amicos ac maxume per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes in-
credibile memoratu est, quam intenta fuerit quan-
taque vi rogationem jusserit, decreverit, voluerit:
magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam
cura rei publicæ; tanta lubido in partibus erat. Igi-
tur ceteris metu percussis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum
Bestiæ fuisse supra docuimus, inter lætitiā plebis et
suorum fugam, trepida etiamtum civitate, quom ex
Mamili rogatione tres quæsitores rogarentur, effecerat,
uti ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed quæstio ex-
ercita aspere violenterque ex rumore et lubidine
plebis; ut sæpe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem
ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

XLI. Ceterum mos partium popularium et senatus
factionum, ac deinde omnium malarum artium paucis
ante annis Romæ ortus est otio atque abundantia
earum rerum, quæ prima mortales ducunt. Nam
ante Carthaginem deletam populus et senatus Roma-
nus placide modesteque inter se rem publicam trac-
tabant, neque gloriæ neque dominationis certamen
inter civis erat; metus hostilis in bonis artibus civi-
tatem retinebat. Sed ubi illa formido mentibus
decessit, scilicet ea, quæ res secundæ amant, lascivia
atque superbia incessere. Ita, quod in advorsis
rebus optaverant otium, postquam adepti sunt, aspe-
rius acerbiusque fuit. Namque cœpere nobilitas
dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinem vortere,
sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in
duas partis abstracta sunt, res publica, quæ media
fuerat, dilacerata. Ceterum nobilitas factione magis
pollebat, plebis vis soluta atque dispersa in multitu-
dine minus poterat. Paucorum arbitrio belli domi-
que agitabatur, penes eosdem ærarium, provinciæ,
magistratus, gloriæ triumphique erant; populus mili-
tia atque inopia urgebatur; prædas bellicas impe-
ratores cum paucis diripiebant; interea parentes aut
parvi liberi militum, uti quisque potentiori confinis
erat, sedibus pellebantur. Ita cum potentia avaritia
sine modo modestiaque invadere, polluere et vastare

omnia, nihil pensi neque sancti habere, quoad semet
10 ipsa præcipitavit. Nam ubi primum ex nobilitate
repti sunt, qui veram gloriam injustæ potentiae
anteponerent, moveri civitas et dissensio civilis quasi
permixtio terræ oriri cœpit.

1 XLII. Nam postquam Tiberius et C. Gracchus,
quorum majores Punico atque aliis bellis multum rei
publicæ addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem
et paucorum scelera patefacere cœpere, nobilitas noxia
atque eo perculsa, modo per socios ac nomen Latinum,
interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis
a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam
ierat, et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos
eadem ingredientem Caium, tribunum alterum,
alterum triumvirum coloniis deducendis, cum M.
2 Fulvio Flacco ferro necaverat. Et sane Gracchis
cupidine victoriæ haud satis moderatus animus fuit:
3 sed bono vinci satius est quam malo more injuriam
4 vincere. Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex lubricine
sua usa multos mortalis ferro aut fuga exstinxit
plusque in reliquum sibi timoris quam potentiae
addidit. Quæ res plerumque magnas civitatis pessum
dedit, dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo et
5 victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. Sed de studiis
partium et omnis civitatis moribus si singulatim aut
pro magnitudine parem disserere, tempus quam res
maturius me deseret. Quamobrem ad inceptum
redeo.

1 XLIII. Post Auli fœdus exercitusque nostri fœ-
dam fugam, Metellus et Silanus consules designati,
provincias inter se partiverant, Metelloque Numidia
e venerat, acri viro et quamquam advorso populi par-
2 tium, fama tamen æquabili et inviolata. Is ubi
primum magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi
cum conlega ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus erat,
3 animum intendit. Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui,
milites scribere, præsidia undique accersere, arma,
tela, equos et cetera instrumenta militiæ parare, ad
hoc commeatum adfatim, denique omnia, quæ in
bello vario et multarum rerum egentis usui esse solent.

Ceterum ad ea patranda senatus auctoritate, socii 4
nomenque Latinum et reges ultro auxilia mittendo,
postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur.
Itaque ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis composi- 5
tisque, in Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe civium,
quom propter artis bonas, tum maxume, quod ad-
vorsum divitias invictum animum gerebat, et avaritia
magistratum ante id tempus in Numidia nostræ opes
contusæ hostiumque auctæ erant.

XLIV. Sed ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei 1
traditur a Sp. Albino pro consule iners, inbellis, neque
periculi neque laboris patiens, lingua quam manu
promptior, prædator ex sociis et ipse præda hostium,
sine imperio et modestia habitus. Ita imperatori 2
novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis quam ex
copia militum auxilii aut spei bonæ accedebat. Sta- 3
tuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et æstivorum tempus
comitiorum mora inminuerat, et exspectatione even-
tus civium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum
adtingere quam majorum disciplina milites laborare
coëgisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque 4
clade percussus, postquam decreverat non egredi
provincia, quantum temporis æstivorum in imperio
fuit, plerumque milites stativis castris habebat, nisi
quom odos aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat.
Sed neque muniebantur ea, neque more militari 5
vigiliæ deducebantur; uti cuique lubebat, ab signis
aberat; lixæ permixti cum militibus diu noctuque
vagabantur; palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare,
pecoris et mancipiorum prædas certantes agere, eaque
mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectitio et aliis
talibus; præterea frumentum publice datum vendere,
panem in dies mercari; postremo, quæcunque dici
aut fingi queunt ignaviæ luxuriæque probra, ea in
illo exercitu cuncta fuere et alia amplius.

XLV. Sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus 1
quam in rebus hostilibus magnum et sapientem virum
fuisse conperior; tanta temperantia inter ambitionem
sævitiæque moderatum. Namque edicto primum 2
adjumenta ignaviæ sustulisse, ne quisquam in castris

panem aut quem alium coctum cibum venderet, ne lixæ exercitum sequerentur, ne miles gregarius in castris neve in agmine servom aut jumentum haberet; ceteris arte modum statuisset. Præterea transversis itineribus cotidie castra movere, juxta ac si hostes adessent, vallo atque fossa munire, vigiliis crebras ponere et eas ipse cum legatis circumire, item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, sæpe in medio adesse, ne quisquam ordine egrederetur, uti cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum et
 3 arma portaret. Ita prohibendo a delictis magis quam vindicando exercitum brevi confirmavit.

- 1 XLVI. Interea Jugurtha, ubi quæ Metellus agebat ex nuntiis acceperat, simul de innocentia ejus certior Romæ factus, diffidere suis rebus ac tum
- 2 demum veram deditionem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad consulem cum suppliciis mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia
- 3 dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello jam antea experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum esse.
- 4 Itaque legatos alium ab alio divorsos adgreditur, ac paullatim temptando, postquam opportunos sibi cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet, uti Jugurtham maxime vivom, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent; ceterum palam, quæ ex voluntate forent,
- 5 regi nuntiari jubet. Deinde ipse paucis diebus intento atque infesto exercitu in Numidiam procedit, ubi contra belli faciem tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris erant; ex oppidis et mapalibus præfecti regis obvii procedebant, parati frumentum dare, conneatum portare, postremo omnia, quæ im-
- 6 perarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa
- 7 ostentui credere et insidiis locum temptari. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu apud primos erat, in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat, in utrumque latus auxiliarios equites tribunis legio-

num et præfectis cohortium dispertiverat, ut cum his permixti velites, quocunque accederent equitatus hostium, propulsarent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus⁸ dolus tantaque peritia locorum et militiæ erat, ut absens an præsens, pacem an bellum gerens perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur.

XLVII. Erat haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus¹ pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vaga, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxime celebratum, ubi et incolere et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. Huc consul simul temptandi² gratia, et si paterentur, opportunitate loci, præsidium inposuit; præterea imperavit frumentum et alia, quæ bello usui forent, conportare, ratus id quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum et conneatum juvaturum exercitum et jam paratis rebus munimento fore. Inter hæc negotia Jugurtha inpensius³ modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare, præter suam liberorumque vitam omnia Metello dedere. Quos item, uti priores, consul inlectos ad proditio-⁴ nem domum dimittebat, regi pacem quam postulabat neque abnuere neque polliceri et inter eas moras promissa legatorum expectare.

XLVIII. Jugurtha ubi Metelli dicta cum factis¹ composuit ac se suis artibus temptari animum advortit, quippe cui verbis pax nuntiabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrimum erat, urbs maxuma alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium temptati, coactus rerum necessitudine statuit armis certare. Igitur explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoriæ² adductus ex opportunitate loci, quam maximas potest copias omnium generum parat ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in ea³ parte Numidiæ, quam Adherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul; a quo aberat mons ferme milia passuum viginti tractu pari, vastus ab natura et humano cultu. Sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur, in inmensum pertingens, vestitus oleastro ac murtetis aliisque generibus arborum, quæ humi arido atque arenoso gignuntur. Media⁴

autem planities deserta penuria aquæ, præter flumini propinqua loca; ea consita arbustis pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

- 1 XLIX. Igitur in eo colle, quem transverso itinere porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha, extenuata suorum acie, consedit, elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem præfecit eumque edocet, quæ ageret; ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu et
- 2 peditibus delectis suos conlocat. Dein singulas turmas et manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur, uti memores pristinæ virtutis et victoriæ sese regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant; cum is certamen fore, quos antea victos sub jugum miserint; ducem illis, non animum mutatum; quæ ab imperatore decuerint, omnia suis provisâ, locum superiorem, ut prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum
- 3 consererent; proinde parati intentique essent signo dato Romanos invadere; illum diem aut omnis labores et victorias confirmaturum, aut maxumarum
- 4 ærumnarum initium fore. Ad hoc viritim, uti quemque ob militare facinus pecunia aut honore extulerat, commonefacere benefici sui et eum ipsum aliis ostentare; postremo pro cujusque ingenio pollicendo, minitando, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare, quom interim Metellus, ignarus hostium, monte de-
- 5 grediens cum exercitu conspicatur, primo dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet, (nam inter virgulta equi Numidæque consederant, neque plane occultati humilitate arborum, et tamen incerti, quidnam esset, cum natura loci tum dolo ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati); dein brevi cognitis insidiis,
- 6 paullisper agmen constituit. Ibi conmutatis ordinibus, in dextero latere, quod proximum hostis erat, triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit, inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios dispertit, equitatum omnem in cornibus locat, ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus aciem, sicuti instruxerat, transversis principiis in planum deducit.

- 1 L. Sed ubi Numidas quietos neque colle degredi

animadvortit, veritus ex anni tempore et inopia aquæ, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum præmisit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet, existumans hostis crebro impetu et transvorsis proeliis iter suum remoratorios, et quoniam armis diffiderent, lassitudinem et sitim militum temptaturos. Deinde 2 ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paullatim procedere, Marium post principia habere, ipse cum sinistræ alæ equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi extremum 3 agmen Metelli primos suos prætergressum videt, præsidio quasi duum milium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat, ne forte cedentibus adversariis receptui ac post munimento foret; dein repente signo dato hostis invadit. Numidæ alii postremos 4 cedere, pars a sinistra ac dextera temptare, infensi adesse atque instare, omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare, quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto prælio, ipsi modo eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriundi aut conserendi manum copia erat; ante jam docti 5 ab Jugurtha equites, ubicunque Romanorum turma insequi cœperat, non confertim neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio quam maxime divorsi. Ita numero priores, si ab persequendo hostis deterere nequiverant, disjectos ab tergo aut lateribus circumveniebant; sin opportunior fugæ collis quam campi fuerat, ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere; nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebat.

LI. Ceterum facies totius negotii varia, incerta, 1 fœda atque miserabilis; dispersi a suis pars cedere, alii insequi, neque signa neque ordines observare, ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare, arma tela, equi viri, hostes atque cives permixti, nihil consilio neque imperio agi, fors omnia regere. Itaque multum diei processerat, quom etiam- 2 tum eventus in incerto erat. Denique omnibus labore 3 et æstu languidis, Metellus ubi videt Numidas minus

instare, paullatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit et cohortis legionarias quattuor advorsum pedites hostium conlocat. Eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa consederat. Simul orare, hortari milites, ne deficerent, neu paterentur hostis fugientis vincere; neque illis castra esse neque munimentum ullum, quo cedentes tenderent, in armis omnia sita. 5 Sed nec Jugurtha quidem interea quietus erat; circumire, hortari, renovare proelium et ipse cum delectis temptare omnia, subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare, quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere.

1 LII. Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri certabant, ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. 2 Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus advorsus, 3 Jugurthæ alia omnia præter milites opportuna. Denique Romani, ubi intellegunt neque sibi perfugium esse neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, (et jam die vesper erat) advorso colle, sicuti præceptum 4 fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco Numidæ fusi fugatique; pauci interiire, plerosque velocitas et regio 5 hostibus ignara tutata sunt. Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium præfectum ab Jugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius prætergressus est, paullatim suos in æquum locum deducit ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo præmissus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat, neque remittit, quid ubique hostis ageret, 6 explorare. Postquam Rutiliū consedissee jam et animo vacuum accepit, simulque ex Jugurthæ proelio clamorem augeri, veritus, ne legatus cognita re laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum arte statuerat, quo hostium itineri obficeret, latius porrigit, eoque modo ad Rutili castra procedit.

1 LIII. Romani ex improvviso pulveris vim magnam animadvertunt; nam prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat. Et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari, post ubi æquabilem manere et, sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque adpropinquare

vident, cognita re properantes arma capiunt ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi 2 propius ventum est, utrimque magno clamore concurritur. Numidæ tantum modo remorati, dum in 3 elephantis auxilium putant, postquam eos inpeditos ramis arborum atque ita disjectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt ac plerique abjectis armis collis aut noctis quæ jam aderat auxilio integri abeunt. Ele- 4 phanti quattuor capti, reliqui omnes numero quadraginta interfecti. At Romani, quamquam itinere 5 atque opere castrorum et prælio fessi lassique erant, tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam procedunt. Nam dolus 6 Numidarum nihil languidi neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primo, obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter 7 se erant, strepitu, velut hostes, adventare, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul et tumultum facere, et pæne inprudencia admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque præmissi equites rem exploravissent. Igi- 8 tur pro metu repente gaudium exortum, milites alius alium læti adpellant, acta edocent atque audiunt, sua quisque fortia facta ad cælum fert. Quippe res humanæ ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet, advorsæ res etiam bonos detractant.

LIV. Metellus in isdem castris quadriduo moratus, 1 saucios cum cura reficit, meritos in præliis more militiæ donat, univorsos in concione laudat atque agit gratias; hortatur ad cetera, quæ levia sunt, parem animum gerant; pro victoria satis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro præda fore. Tamen 2 interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium aut quid agitare, cum paucisne esset, an exercitum haberet, ut sese victus gereret, exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura 3 munita receperat, ibique cogebat exercitum numero hominum ampliorem, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis quam belli cultorem. Id ea gratia 4 eveniebat, quod præter regiones equites nemo omnium Numidarum ex fuga regem sequitur; quo cujusque animus fert, eo discedunt, neque id flagitium militiæ

- 5 ducitur ; ita se mores habent. Igitur Metellus ubi videt etiamtum regis animum ferocem esse, bellum renovari, quod nisi ex illius lubidine geri non posset, præterea iniquum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos vinci quam suos vincere, statuit non præliis neque in acie, sed alio more bellum gerundum. Itaque in Numidiæ loca opulentissima pergit, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida temere munita aut sine præsidio capit incenditque ; puberes interfici jubet, alia omnia militum prædam esse. Ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides ; frumentum et alia, quæ usui forent, adfatim præbita :
7 ubicunque res postulabat, præsidium inpositum. Quæ negotia multo magis quam prælium male pugnatum
8 ab suis regem terrebant ; quippe cui spes omnis in fuga sita erat, sequi cogeatur, et qui sua loca
9 defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ex copia quod optimum videbatur consilium capit, exercitum plerumque in isdem locis opperiri jubet, ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur, nocturnis et aviis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantis repente adgreditur. Eorum plerique inermes
10 cadunt, multi capiuntur, nemo omnium intactus profugit, et Numidæ, priusquam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant, in proximos collis discedunt.
- 1 LV. Interim Romæ gaudium ingens ortum cognitum Metelli rebus, ut seque et exercitum more majorum gereret, in adverso loco victor tamen virtute fuisset, hostium agro potiretur, Jugurtham magnificum ex Auli socordia spem salutis in solitudine aut fuga
2 coëgisset habere. Itaque senatus ob ea feliciter acta dis immortalibus supplicia decernere, civitas trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu læta agere, fama de
3 Metello præclara esse. Igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare, cavere tamen, necubi hosti opportunus fieret, meminisse post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita quo clarior, eo magis
4 anxius erat, neque post insidias Jugurthæ effuso exercitu prædari ; ubi frumento aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu præsidium agita-

bant ; exercitus partem ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis quam præda ager vastabatur. Duo-⁵ bus locis haud longe inter se castra faciebant ; ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant ; ceterum, quo fuga⁷ atque formido latius cresceret, divorsi agebant. Eo⁸ tempore Jugurtha per collis sequi, tempus aut locum pugnae quærere ; qua venturum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontis, quorum penuria erat, conrumpere ; modo se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere, postremo in agmine temptare ac statim in collis regredi, rursus aliis, post aliis minitari, neque prælium facere neque otium pati, tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

LVI. Romanus imperator ubi se dolis fatigari¹ videt neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam et in ea parte qua sita erat arcem regni, nomine Zamam, statuit obpugnare, ratus id quod negotium poscebat Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum ibique prælium fore. At ille, quæ² parabantur a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit, oppidanos hortatur, mœnia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere nequibat, firmissimum erat. Præterea pollicetur in tempore semet cum exercitu³ adfore. Ita compositis rebus in loca quam maxime occulta discedit ac post paullo cognoscit Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam⁴ missum, quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eo cum delectis equitibus noctu pergit et jam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit ; simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur, uti cohortis ab tergo circumveniant ; fortunam illis præclari facinoris casum dare ; si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate sine metu ætatem acturos. Ac ni Marius signa inferre atque⁵ evadere oppido properavisset, profecto cuncti aut magna pars Siccensium fidem mutavissent ; tanta mobilitate sese Numidæ agunt. Sed milites Jugur-⁶ thini paullisper ab rege sustentati, postquam majore vi hostes urgent, paucis amissis profugi discedunt.

1 LVII. Marius ad Zamam pervenit; id oppidum
in campo situm, magis opere quam natura munitum
erat, nullius idoneæ rei egens, armis virisque opulen-
2 tum. Igitur Metellus pro tempore atque loco paratis
rebus cuncta mœnia exercitu circumvenit, legatis
3 imperat, ubi quisque curaret. Deinde signo dato
undique simul clamor ingens oritur; neque ea res
Numidas terret, infensi intentique sine tumultu ma-
4 nent; prælium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quis-
que, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare; alii
succedere ac murum modo subfodere, modo scalis
adgredi, cupere prælium in manibus facere. Contra
ea oppidani in proximos saxa volvere, sudes, pila,
præterea pice et sulfure tædam mixtam ardenti
5 mittere. Sed ne illos quidem, qui procul manserant,
timor animi satis muniverat; nam plerosque jacula
tormentis aut manu emissa vulnerabant, parique peri-
culo, sed fama inpari, boni atque ignavi erant.

1 LVIII. Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Jugurtha
ex inproviso castra hostium cum magna manu inva-
dit, remissis, qui in præsidio erant, et omnia magis
2 quam prælium expectantibus, portam inrumpit. At
nostri, repentino metu perculsi, sibi quisque pro mori-
bus consulunt; alii fugere, alii arma capere, magna
3 pars vulnerati aut occisi. Ceterum ex omni multi-
tudine non amplius quadraginta memores nominis
Romani grege facto locum cepere paullo quam alii
editiorem, neque inde maxuma vi depelli quiverunt,
sed tela eminus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus
minus frustrati; sin Numidæ propius accessissent,
ibi vero virtutem ostendere et eos maxuma vi cædere,
4 fundere atque fugare. Interim Metellus quom acer-
rume rem gereret, clamorem hostilem a tergo accepit,
dein convorso equo animadvortit fugam ad se vorsum
5 fieri, quæ res indicabat popularis esse. Igitur equi-
tatum omnem ad castra propere misit, ac statim
C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum, eumque lacru-
mans per amicitiam perque rem publicam obsecrat,
ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore
6 neve hostis inultos abire sinat. Ille brevi mandata

efficit. At Jugurtha munimento castrorum inpeditus, quom alii super vallum præcipitarentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes obficerent, multis amissis in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus, infecto negotio, 7 postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revortitur.

LIX. Igitur postero die, prius quam ad obpugnandum egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis adventus erat, pro castris agitare jubet, portas et proxima loca tribunis dispertit, deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum atque uti superiore die murum adgreditur. Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repente nostros 2 invadit; qui in proxumo locati fuerant, paullisper terri perturbantur, reliqui cito subveniunt. Neque 3 diutius Numidæ resistere quivissent, ni pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu facerent; quibus illi freti, non uti equestri prælio solet, sequi, dein cedere, sed advorsis equis concurrere, impicare ac perturbare aciem; ita expeditis peditibus suis hostis pæne victos dare.

LX. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur. Ubi quisque legatus aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrume niti, neque alius in alio magis quam in sese spem habere; pariterque oppidani agere; obpugnare aut parare omnibus locis, avidius alteri alteros sauciare quam semet tegere, clamor permixtus hortatione, lætitia, gemitu, item strepitus armorum ad cælum ferri, tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui 3 mœnia defensabant, ubi hostes paillum modo pugnam remiserant, intenti prælium equestre prospectabant, eos, uti quæque Jugurthæ res erant, lætos 4 modo, modo pavidos animadvorteres, ac, sicuti audiri a suis aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari aut manu significare aut niti corporibus, et ea huc et illuc quasi vitabundi aut jacentes tela agitare. Quod 5 ubi Mario cognitum est, (nam is in ea parte curabat) consulto lenius agere ac diffidentiam rei simulare, pati Numidas sine tumultu regis prælium visere. Ita illis studio suorum adstrictis, repente magna vi 6 murum adgreditur, et jam scalis egressi milites prope

summa ceperant, quom oppidani concurrunt, lapides,
 7 ignem, alia præterea tela ingerunt. Nostri primo
 resistere, deinde, ubi unæ atque alteræ scalæ conmi-
 nutæ, qui supersteterant afflicti sunt, ceteri, quoquo
 modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars vulneribus
 8 confecti abeunt. Denique utrimque prælium nox
 diremit.

1 LXI. Metellus, postquam videt frustra inceptum
 neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham nisi ex insi-
 diis aut suo loco pugnam facere, et jam æstatem ex-
 actam esse, ab Zama discedit et in is urbibus, quæ ad
 se defecerant, satisque munitæ loco aut mœnibus
 2 erant, præsidia inponit; ceterum exercitum in pro-
 vinciam, quæ proxuma est Numidiæ, hiemandi gratia
 3 conlocat. Neque id tempus ex aliorum more quieti
 aut luxuriæ concedit, sed quoniam armis bellum
 parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere
 4 et eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomil-
 carem, qui Romæ cum Jugurtha fuerat et inde vadi-
 bus datis clam Massivæ de nece iudicium fugerat,
 quod ei per maxumam amicitiam maxuma copia
 5 fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus adgreditur. Ac
 primo efficit, uti ad se conloquendi gratia occultus
 veniat, dein fide data, si Jugurtham vivom aut ne-
 catum sibi tradidisset, fore, ut illi senatus inpuni-
 tatem et sua omnia concederet, facile Numidæ per-
 suadet, cum ingenio infido, tum metuenti, ne, si pax
 cum Romanis fieret, ipse per condiciones ad suppli-
 cium traderetur.

1 LXII. Is, ubi primum opportunum fuit, Jugurtham
 anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit; monet
 atque lacrumans obtestatur, uti aliquando sibi liberis-
 que et genti Numidarum optume merenti provideat,
 omnibus præliis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos
 mortalis captos, occisos, regni opes conminutas esse;
 satis sæpe jam et virtutem militum et fortunam
 temptatam; caveat, ne illo cunctante Numidæ sibi
 2 consulant. His atque talibus aliis ad deditionem
 3 regis animum inpellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem
 legati, qui Jugurtham imperata facturum dicerent ac

sine ulla pactione sese regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere. Metellus propere cunctos senatorii 4 ordinis ex hibernis accersi jubet, eorum atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. Ita more 5 majorum ex consili decreto per legatos Jugurthæ imperat argenti pondo ducenta milia, elephantos omnis, equorum et armorum aliquantum. Quæ postquam 6 sine mora facta sunt, jubet omnis perfugas vinctos adduci. Eorum magna pars, uti jussum erat, adducti, 7 pauci, quom primum deditio cœpit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretanium abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, 8 ubi armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus est, quom ipse ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur, rursus cœpit flectere animum suum et ex mala conscientia digna timere. Denique multis diebus per dubitationem 9 consumptis, quom modo tædio rerum advorsarum omnia bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret, quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret, multis magnisque præsiidiis nequidquam perditis, de integro bellum sumit. Et Romæ senatus 10 de provinciis consultus Numidiam Metello decreverat.

LXIII. Per idem tempus Uticæ forte C. Mario per 1 hostias dis supplicanti, magna atque mirabilia portendi haruspex dixerat; proinde, quæ animo agitabat, fretus dis ageret, fortunam quam sæpissime experiretur, cuncta prospere eventura. At illum jam antea 2 consulatus ingens cupido exagitabat, ad quem capiundum præter vetustatem familiæ alia omnia abunde erant, industria, probitas, militiæ magna scientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubricinis et divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriæ avidus. Sed is 3 natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum ætas militiæ patiens fuit, stipendiis faciundis, non Græca facundia neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit; ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribunatum militarem a 4 populo petit, plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus, facile notus per omnis tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo 5 magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit, semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore quam

6 gerebat dignus haberetur. Tamen is ad id locorum talis vir (nam postea ambitione præceps datus est) petere non audebat. Etiamtum alios magistratus plebes, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tra-

7 debat. Novos nemo tam clarus neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore et quasi pol-lutus haberetur.

1 LXIV. Igitur ubi Marius haruspiciis dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello petundi gratia missionem rogat. Cui quamquam virtus, gloria atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat contemptor animus et superbia,

2 commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum con-motus insolita re mirari ejus consilium et quasi per amicitiam monere, ne tam prava inciperet neu super fortunam animum gereret; non omnia omnibus cupi-unda esse; debere illi res suas satis placere; postremo caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi jure

3 negaretur. Postquam hæc atque alia talia dixit neque animus Mari flectitur, respondit, ubi primum potuisset per negotia publica, facturum sese, quæ

4 peteret. Ac postea sæpius eadem postulanti fertur dixisse, ne festinaret abire; satis mature illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum. Is eo tempore con-tubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter viginti; quæ res Marium cum pro honore, quem ad-fectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer accenderat.

5 Ita cupidine atque ira, pessumis consultoribus, gras-sari, neque facto ullo neque dicto abstinere, quod modo ambitiosum foret, milites, quibus in hibernis præerat, laxiore imperio quam antea habere, apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticæ erat, crimino-se, simul et magnifice de bello loqui, dimidia pars exercitus si sibi permetteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum; ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo inanis et regiæ superbiæ

6 imperio nimis gauderet. Quæ omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, quod diuturnitate belli res familiaris con-ruperant et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

1 LXV. Erat præterea in exercitu nostro Numida

quidam, nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissæ nepos, quem Micipsa testamento secundum heredem scripserat, morbis confectus et ob eam causam mente paulum imminuta. Cui Metellus petenti more regum 2 ut sellam juxta poneret, item postea custodiæ causa turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat, honorem, quod eorum modo foret, quos populus Romanus reges adpellavisset, præsidium, quod contumeliosum foret, si equites Romani satellites Numidæ traderentur. Hunc Marius anxium adgreditur at- 3 que hortatur, ut contumeliarum imperatori cum suo auxilio pœnas petat; hominem ob morbos animo parum valido secunda oratione extollit: illum regem, ingentem virum, Masinissæ nepotem esse; si Jugurtha captus aut occisus foret, imperium Numidiæ sine mora habiturum; id adeo mature posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret. Itaque et 4 illum et equites Romanos, milites et negotiatores alios ipse, plerosque pacis spes inpellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi a multis 5 mortalibus honestissima subfragatione consulatus petebatur; simul ea tempestate plebes, nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam, novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

LXVI. Interim Jugurtha postquam omissa dedi- 1 tione bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum, civitatis, quæ ab se defecerant, formidine aut ostentando præmia adfectare, communire suos locos, arma, tela, alia quæ spe pacis amiserat, reficere aut commercari, servitia Romanorum adlicere et eos ipsos, qui in præsidiis erant, pecunia temptare; prorsus nihil intactum neque quietum pati, cuncta agitare. Igitur Vagenses, quo Metellus 2 initio, Jugurtha pacificante, præsidium inposuerat, fatigati regis suppliciis neque antea voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se conjurant; nam volgas, uti plerumque solet, et maxime Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti et otio advorsum. Dein, con-

positis inter se rebus, in diem tertium constituunt, quod is festus celebratusque per omnem Africam ludum et lasciviam magis quam formidinem ostentabat. Sed ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque 3 militaris et ipsum præfectum oppidi, T. Turpilius Silanum, alius alium domos suas invitant; eos omnis præter Turpilius inter epulas obtruncant; postea milites palantis, inermes, quippe in tali die ac sine 4 imperio, adgrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, quis acta consiliumque ignorantibus tumultus ipse et res novæ satis placebant.

1 LXVII. Romani milites, improviso metu incerti ignarique, quid potissimum facerent, trepidare; ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant, præsidium hostium; portæ ante clausæ fugam prohibebant; ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis ædificiorum saxa 2 et alia, quæ locus præbebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque caveri anceps malum, neque a fortissimis infirmissumo generi resisti posse; juxta boni malique, 3 strenui et inbelles inulti obtruncari. In ea tanta asperitate, sævissumis Numidis et oppido undique clauso, Turpilius præfectus unus ex omnibus Italicis intactus profugit; id misericordiane hospitis, an pactione aut casu ita evenerit, parum conperimus; nisi, quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita integra fama potior fuit, improbus intestabilisque videtur.

1 LXVIII. Metellus, postquam de rebus Vagæ actis conperit, paullisper mæstus e conspectu abit; deinde, ubi ira et ægritudo permixta sunt, cum maxuma cura 2 ultum ire injurias festinat. Legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et quam plurimos potest Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit, et postera die circiter horam tertiam pervenit in quamdam planitiem, locis paullo superioribus circumventam. Ibi 3 milites fessos itineris magnitudine et jam abnuentis omnia docet oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum abesse, decere illos reliquum laborem æquo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissimis atque miserrimis, pœnas caperent; præterea prædam

benigne ostentat. Sic animis eorum adrectis, equites 4 in primo late, pedites quam artissime ire et signa occultare jubet.

LXIX. Vagenses ubi animum advortere ad se 1 vorsum exercitum pergere, primo, uti erat res, Metellum esse rati, portas clausere, deinde ubi neque agros vastari et eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident, rursum Jugurtham arbitrati cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditesque repente 2 signo dato alii volgum effusum oppido cedere, alii ad portas festinare, pars turris capere; ira atque prædæ spes amplius quam lassitudo posse. Ita Vagenses 3 biduum modo ex perfidia lætati; civitas magna et opulens cuncta pœnæ aut prædæ fuit. Turpilius, 4 quem præfectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugisse supra ostendimus, jussus a Metello causam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus verberatusque capite pœnas solvit; nam is civis ex Latio erat.

LXX. Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cujus impulsu 1 Jugurtha deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi et ipse eum suspiciens, novas res cupere, ad perniciem ejus dolum quærere, diu noctuque fatigare animum; denique omnia temptando, socium 2 sibi adjungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus, carum acceptumque popularibus suis, qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare et omnis res exsequi solitus erat, quæ Jugurthæ fesso aut majoribus adstricto superaverant; ex quo illi gloria opesque inventæ. Igitur utriusque consilio 3 dies insidiis statuitur; cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit; Nabdalsa ad exercitum pro- 4 fectus, quem inter hiberna Romanorum jussus habebat, ne ager inultis hostibus vastaretur. Is post- 5 quam magnitudine facinoris percussus ad tempus non venit metusque rem inpediebat, Bomilcar simul cupidus incepta patrandi et timore socii anxius, ne omisso vetere consilio novom quæreret, litteras ad eum per homines fidelis mittit, in quis mollitiem socordiamque viri accusare, testari deos, per quos

juravisset, monere ne præmia Metelli in pestem converteret; Jugurthæ exitium adesse; ceterum suane an virtute Metelli periret, id modo agitari; proinde reputaret cum animo suo, præmia an cruciatum mallet.

1 LXXI. Sed quom hæ litteræ adlatæ, forte Nabdalsa
 exercito corpore fessus in lecto quiescebat, ubi cog-
 2 nitis Bomilcaris verbis primo cura, deinde, uti ægrum
 animum solet, somnus cepit. Erat ei Numida qui-
 3 dam negotiorum curator, fidus acceptusque et omnium
 4 consiliorum nisi novissumi particeps. Qui postquam
 adlatas litteras audivit, ex consuetudine ratus opera
 aut ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introiit,
 dormiente illo epistolam, super caput in pulvino te-
 mere positam, sumit ac perlegit, dein propere, cog-
 5 nitis insidiis, ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa post paullo
 experrectus ubi neque epistolam repperit et rem
 omnem, uti acta erat, cognovit, primo indicem per-
 sequi conatus, postquam id frustra fuit, Jugurtham
 placandi gratia accedit; dicit quæ ipse paravisset
 facere perfidia clientis sui præventa; lacrumans ob-
 testatur per amicitiam perque sua antea fideliter acta,
 ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet.

1 LXXII. Ad ea rex, aliter atque animo gerebat,
 placide respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos
 socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis iram obpres-
 2 serat, ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oriretur. Neque
 post id locorum Jugurthæ dies aut nox ulla quieta
 fuit, neque loco neque mortali cuiquam aut tempori
 satis credere, civis hostis juxta metuere, circumspec-
 tare omnia et omni strepitu pavescere, alio atque
 alio loco sæpe contra decus regium noctu requiescere,
 interdum somno excitus arreptis armis tumultum
 facere; ita formidine quasi vecordia exagitari.

1 LXXIII. Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris
 et indicio patefacto ex perfugis cognovit, rursus tam-
 quam ad integrum bellum cuncta parat festinatque.
 2 Marium, fatigantem de profectione, simul et invisum
 et offensum sibi parum idoneum ratus, domum di-
 3 mittit. Et Romæ plebes, litteris, quæ de Metello ac

Mario missæ erant, cognitis, volenti animo de ambo-
 bus acceperant. Imperatori nobilitas, quæ antea de- 4
 cori, invidiæ esse; at illi alteri generis humilitas
 favorem addiderat; ceterum in utroque magis studia
 partium quam bona aut mala sua moderata. Præ- 5
 terea seditiosi magistratus vulgum exagitare, Metel-
 lum omnibus concionibus capitis arcessere, Mari
 virtutem in majus celebrare. Denique plebes sic ac- 6
 censa, uti opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum res
 fidesque in manibus sitæ erant, relictis operibus fre-
 quenterent Marium et sua necessaria post illius ho-
 norem ducerent. Ita percussa nobilitate post multas 7
 tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur, et
 postea populus a tribuno plebis Manlio Mancino ro-
 gatus, quem vellet cum Jugurtha bellum gerere, fre-
 quens Marium jussit. Sed senatus paullo ante Me-
 tello decreverat; ea res frustra fuit.

LXXIV. Eodem tempore Jugurtha amissis amicis, 1
 quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine,
 pars ad Romanos, alii ad regem Bocchum profugerant,
 quom neque bellum geri sine administris posset, et
 novorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri
 periculosum duceret, varius incertusque agitabat.
 Neque illi res neque consilium aut quisquam ho-
 minum satis placebat; itinera præfectosque in dies
 mutare, modo advorsum hostis, interdum in soli-
 tudines pergere, sæpe in fuga ac post paullo in armis
 spem habere, dubitare, virtuti an fidei popularium
 minus crederet; ita quocunque intenderat, res ad-
 vorsæ erant. Sed inter eas moras repente sese Me- 2
 tellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidæ ab Jugurtha
 pro tempore parati instructique; dein prælium in-
 eipitur. Qua in parte rex pugnæ adfuit, ibi aliquam- 3
 diu certatum, ceteri ejus omnes milites primo con-
 gressu pulsi fugatique. Romani signorum et armo-
 rum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti;
 nam ferme Numidas in omnibus præliis magis pedes
 quam arma tuta sunt.

LXXV. Ea fuga Jugurtha inpensius modo rebus 1
 suis diffidens cum perfugis et parte equitatus in soli-

- tudines, dein Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum atque opulentum, ubi plerique thesauri fliorumque
2 ejus multus pueritiæ cultus erat. Quæ postquam Metello conperta sunt, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proximum in spatio milium quinquaginta, loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen spe patrandi belli, si ejus oppidi potitus foret, omnis asperitates supervadere ac naturam etiam vincere
3 adgreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta sarcinis levare jubet nisi frumento dierum decem, ceterum utris
4 modo et alia aquæ idonea portari. Præterea conquirat ex agris quam plurimum potest domiti pecoris, eoque inponit vasa cujusque modi, sed pleraque
5 lignea, conlecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc finitumis imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, quam plurimum quisque aquæ portaret ;
6 diem locumque, ubi præsto forent, prædicat. Ipse ex flumine, quam proximam oppido aquam esse supra diximus, jumenta onerat ; eo modo instructus ad
7 Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde ubi ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis præceperat, et castra posita munitaque sunt, tanta repente cælo missa vis aquæ dicitur, ut
8 ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. Præterea conneatus spe amplior, quia Numidæ, sicuti plerique
9 in nova deditione, officia intenderant. Ceterum milites religione pluvia magis usi, eaque res multum animis eorum addidit ; nam rati sese dis immortalibus curæ esse. Deinde postero die contra opinionem
10 Jugurthæ ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re perculsi, nihilo segnius bellum parare ; idem nostri facere.
- 1 LXXVI. Sed rex nihil jam infectum Metello credens, quippe qui omnia, arma tela, locos tempora, denique naturam ipsam ceteris imperitantem industria vicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniæ ex oppido noctu profugit, neque postea in ullo loco amplius uno die aut una nocte moratus simulabat sese negoti gratia properare ; ceterum prodicionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat ; nam talia con-

silia per otium et ex opportunitate capi. At Metel-
 lus, ubi oppidanos proelio intentos, simul oppidum et
 operibus et loco munitum videt, vallo fossaque mœnia
 circumvenit. Deinde locis ex copia maxime idoneis 3
 vineas agere, aggerem jacere et super aggerem in-
 positis turribus opus et administros tutari. Contra 4
 hæc oppidani festinare, parare; prorsus ab utrisque
 nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani multo ante 5
 labore præliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta
 quam eo ventum erat, oppido modo potiti, præda
 omnis ab perfugis corrupta. Ii postquam murum 6
 arietibus feriri resque suas adfictas vident, aurum
 atque argentum et alia, quæ prima ducuntur, domum
 regiam conportant; ibi vino et epulis onerati, illaque
 et domum et semet igni conrumpunt, et quas victi
 ab hostibus pœnas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes pe-
 pendere.

LXXVII. Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex 1
 oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant orantes, uti
 præsidium præfectumque eo mitteret; Hamilcarem
 quendam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus
 studere, advorsum quem neque imperia magistratuum
 neque leges valerent; ni id festinaret, in summo pe-
 riculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore. Nam Lep- 2
 titani jam inde a principio belli Jugurthini ad Bes-
 tiam consulem et postea Romam miserant amicitiam
 societatemque rogatum. Deinde, ubi ea inpetrata, 3
 semper boni fidelesque mansere et cuncta a Bestia,
 Albino Metelloque imperata nave fecerant. Itaque 4
 ab imperatore facile, quæ petebant, adepti. Emissæ
 eo cohortes Ligurum quattuor et C. Annii præ-
 fectus.

LXXVIII. Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum est, 1
 quos accepimus profugos ob discordias civilis, navibus
 in eos locos venisse; ceterum situm inter duas Syrtis,
 quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus 2
 prope in extrema Africa, in pares magnitudine, pari
 natura; quorum proxuma terræ præalta sunt, cetera,
 uti fors tulit, alta, aliâ in tempestate vadosa. Nam 3
 ubi mare magnum esse et sævire ventis cœpit, limum

arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt; ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur: Syrtes ab tractu nominatæ. Ejus civitatis lingua modo convorsa connubio Numidarum, legum cultusque pleraque Sidonica, quæ eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis ætatem agebant. Inter illos et frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

1 LXXIX. Sed quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginensium memorare; eam rem nos locus admonuit.

2 Qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleraque Africa imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere. Ager in medio arenosus, una specie; neque flumen neque mons erat, qui finis eorum discerneret; quæ res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se

4 habuit. Postquam utrimque legiones item classes sæpe fusæ fugatæque, et alteri alteros aliquantum adtriverant, veriti, ne mox victos victoresque defessos alius adgrederetur, per inducias sponsionem faciunt, uti certo die legati domo profisciscerentur; quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is communis utriusque

5 populi finis haberetur. Igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, quibus nomen Philænis erat, maturavere iter pergere, Cyrenenses tardius iere. Id socordiane an

6 casu acciderit, parum cognovi. Ceterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus atque in mari retinere. Nam ubi per loca æqualia et nuda gignentium ventus coortus arenam humo excitavit, ea magna vi agitata ora oculosque implere solet, ita prospectu impedito

7 morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores se vident et ob rem conruptam domi poenas metuunt, criminari Carthaginensis ante tempus domo digressos, conturbare rem, denique omnia malle quam

8 victi abire. Sed quom Pœni aliam condicionem, tantummodo æquam, peterent, Græci optionem Carthaginensium faciunt, ut vel illi, quos finis populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur, vel eadem condicione

9 sese, quem in locum vellent, processuros. Philæni condicione probata seque vitamque suam rei publicæ

condonavere ; ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo 10
loco Philænis fratribus aras consecravere, aliique illis
domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

LXXX. Jugurtha postquam amissa Thala nihil 1
satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas
solitudines cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gætulos,
genus hominum ferum incultumque et eo tempore
ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in 2
unum cogit ac paullatim consuefacit ordines habere,
signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria
facere. Præterea regis Bocchi proximos magnis mu- 3
neribus et majoribus promissis ad studium sui per-
ducit, quis adjutoribus regem adgressus inpellit, uti
advorsum Romanos bellum incipiat. Id ea gratia 4
facilius proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus initio hujusce
belli legatos Romam miserat, fœdus et amicitiam
petitum, quam rem opportunissimam incepto bello 5
pauci inpediverant cæci avaritia, quis omnia honesta
atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Etiam antea
Jugurthæ filia Bocchi nupserat. Verum ea necessi- 6
tudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur, quia
singuli pro opibus quisque quam plurimas uxores,
denas alii, alii pluris habent, sed reges eo amplius.
Ita animus multitudine distrahitur, nulla pro socia 7
obtinet, pariter omnes viles sunt.

LXXXI. Igitur in locum ambobus placitum ex- 1
ercitus conveniunt ; ibi fide data et accepta Jugurtha
Bocchi animum oratione accendit : Romanos injustos,
profunda avaritia, communis omnium hostis esse ;
eandem illos causam belli cum Boccho habere quam
secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi,
quis omnia regna advorsa sint ; tum sese, paullo ante
Carthaginiensis, item regem Persen, post, uti quisque
opulentissimus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore.
His atque aliis talibus dictis ad Cirtam oppidum iter 2
constituunt, quod ibi Metellus prædam captivosque
et inpedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus aut 3
capta urbe operæ pretium fore aut, si Romanus auxilio
suis venisset, prælio sese certaturos. Nam callidus 4

id modo festinabat, Bocchi pacem inminuere, ne moras agitando aliud quam bellum mallet.

- 1 LXXXII. Imperator postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere neque, uti sæpe jam victo Jugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit; ceterum haud procul ab Cirta castris munitis reges obperitur, melius esse ratus, cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novos hostis accesserat, ex commodo
- 2 pugnam facere. Interim Roma per litteras certior fit provinciam Numidiam Mario datam; nam consulem factum ante acceperat. Quis rebus supra bonum atque honestum percussus, neque lacrimas tenere neque moderari linguam; vir egregius in aliis arti-
- 3 bus nimis molliter ægritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in superbiam vortebant, alii bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse, multi, quod jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur. Nobis satis cognitum est, illum magis honore Mari quam injuria sua excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse si adempta provincia alii quam Mario traderetur.

- 1 LXXXIII. Igitur eo dolore impeditus, et quia stultitiæ videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit postulatum, ne sine causa hostis populo Romano fieret; habere tum magnam copiam societatis amicitiaque conjungendæ, quæ potior bello esset; quamquam opibus suis confideret, tamen non debere incerta pro certis mutare; omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum ægerrime desinere; non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus et finem esse; incipere cuivis, etiam ignavo, licere, deponi, quom victores velint; proinde sibi regnoque suo consularet, neu florentis res suas cum Jugurthæ perditis misce-
- 2 ret. Ad ea rex satis placide verba facit: sese pacem cupere, sed Jugurthæ fortunarum misereri; si eadem
- 3 illi copia fieret, omnia conventura. Rursus imperator contra postulata Bocchi nuntios mittit; ille probare partim, alia abnuere. Eo modo sæpe ab utroque missis remissisque nuntiis tempus procedere et ex Metelli voluntate bellum intactum trahi.

LXXXIV. At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupien- 1
tissima plebe consul factus, postquam ei provinciam
Numidiam populus jussit, antea jam infestus nobilitati,
tum vero multus atque ferox instare, singulos modo,
modo univorsos lædere; dictitare sese consulatum
ex victis illis spolia cepisse; alia præterea magnifica
pro se, et illis dolentia. Interim, quæ bello opus 2
erant, prima habere; postulare legionibus subple-
mentum, auxilia a populis et regibus sociisque arces-
sere, præterea ex Latio fortissimum quemque, ple-
rosque militiæ, paucos fama cognitos accire, et am-
biundo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis secum
proficisci. Neque illi senatus, quamquam advorsus 3
erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat; ceterum
subplementum etiam lætus decreverat, quia neque
plebi militia volenti putabatur et Marius aut belli
usum aut studia volgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra
sperata; tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerosque
invaserat. Sese quisque præda locupletem fore, vic- 4
torem domum rediturum, alia hujusmodi animis tra-
hebant, et eos non paullum oratione sua Marius
adrexerat. Nam postquam omnibus, quæ postula- 5
verat, decretis milites scribere volt, hortandi causa,
simul et nobilitatem, uti consueverat, exagitandi,
concionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo dis-
seruit:

LXXXV. Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non isdem 1
artibus imperium a vobis petere et, postquam adepti
sunt, gerere; primo industrios, supplices, modicos
esse, dein per ignaviam et superbiam ætatem agere.
Sed mihi contra ea videtur; nam quo pluris est 2
universa res publica quam consulatus aut prætura,
eo majore cura illam administrari quam hæc peti
debere. Neque me fallit, quantum cum maximo 3
vostro beneficio negoti sustineam. Bellum parare
simul et ærario parcere, cogere ad militiam eos, quos
nolis offendere, domi forisque omnia curare, et ea
agere inter invidos, occursantis, factiosos, opinione,
Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc, alii si deliquere, 4
vetus nobilitas, majorum fortia facta, cognatorum et

adfinium opes, multæ clientelæ, omnia hæc præsidio
adsunt; mihi spes omnes in memet sitæ, quas necesse
est virtute et innocentia tutari; nam alia infirma
5 sunt. Et illud intellego, Quirites, omnium ora in me
convorsa esse, æquos bonosque favere, quippe mea
bene facta rei publicæ procedunt, nobilitatem locum
6 invadendi quærere. Quo mihi acrius adnitendum
7 est, uti neque vos capiamini et illi frustra sint. Ita
ad hoc ætatis a pueritia fui, ut omnis labores, pericula
8 consueta habeam. Quæ ante vostra beneficia gra-
tuito faciebam, ea uti accepta mercede deseram, non
9 est consilium, Quirites. Illis difficile est in potesta-
tibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos
simulavere; mihi, qui omnem ætatem in optumis
artibus egi, bene facere jam ex consuetudine in natu-
10 ram vortit. Bellum me gerere cum Jugurtha jussistis,
quam rem nobilitas ægerrime tulit. Quæso, reputate
cum animis vestris, num id mutari melius sit, si
quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc aut aliud tale
negotium mittatis, hominem veteris prosapiæ ac mul-
tarum imaginum et nullius stipendi, scilicet ut in
tanta re ignarus omnium trepidet, festinet, sumat
11 aliquem ex populo monitorem officii sui. Ita plerum-
que evenit, ut quem vos imperatorem jussistis, is sibi
12 imperatorem alium quærat. Atque ego scio, Quiri-
tes, qui postquam consules facti sunt, acta majorum
et Græcorum militaria præcepta legere cœperint;
præposterii homines: nam gerere quam fieri tempore
13 posterius, re atque usu prius est. Comparete nunc,
Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novom.
Quæ illi audire et legere solent, eorum partem vidi,
alia egomet gessi; quæ illi litteris, ea ego militando
14 didici. Nunc vos existumate, facta an dicta pluris
sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam, ego illorum igna-
15 viam; mihi fortuna, illis probra objectantur. Quam-
quam ego naturam unam et communem omnium
existumo, sed fortissimum quemque generosissimum.
16 Ac si jam ex patribus Albini aut Bestiæ quæri pos-
set, mene an illos ex se signi maluerint, quid respon-
suros creditis, nisi sese liberos quam optimos volu-

isſe? Quodſi jure me deſpiciunt, faciunt idem majo- 17
ribus ſuis, quibus uti mihi ex virtute nobilitas cœpit.
Invident honori meo; ergo invideant labori, inno- 18
centiæ, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per hæc illum
cepi. Verum homines corrupti ſuperbia ita ætatem 19
agunt, quaſi voſtros honores contemnunt; ita hoſ
petunt, quaſi honeſte vixerint. Næ illi falſi ſunt, 20
qui divoriſſimas res pariter exſpectant, ignaviæ
voluptatem et præmia virtutis. Atque etiam, quom 21
apud voſ aut in ſenatu verba faciunt, pleraque ora-
tione majores ſuos extollunt, eorum fortia facta
memorando clariores ſeſe putant. Quod contra eſt; 22
nam quanto vita illorum præclarior, tanto horum
ſocordia flagitioſior. Et profecto ita ſe res habet: 23
majorum gloria poſteris quaſi lumen eſt, neque bona
neque mala eorum in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei 24
ego inopiam fateor, Quirites; verum id, quod multo
præclariuſ eſt, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc 25
videte, quam iniqui ſint. Quod ex aliena virtute
ſibi adrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt, ſcilicet
quia imagines non habeo et quia mihi nova nobilitas
eſt, quam certe peperisse melius eſt quam acceptam
conrupſiſſe. Equidem ego non ignoro, ſi jam mihi 26
reſpondere velint, abunde illis facundam et compoſi-
tam orationem fore. Sed in maximo voſtro bene-
ficio, quom omnibus locis me voſque maledictis lace-
rent, non placuit reticere, ne quiſ modetiã in con-
ſcientiam duceret. Nam me quidem ex animi mei 27
ſententia nulla oratio lædere poteſt; quippe vera
neceſſe eſt bene prædicet, falſam vita moresque mei
ſuperant. Sed quoniam voſtra conſilia accuſantur, 28
qui mihi ſummuſ honorem et maximuſ negotium
inpoſuiſtis, etiam atque etiam reputate, num eorum
pœnitundum ſit. Non poſſum fidei cauſa imagines 29
neque triumphoſ aut conſulatuſ majorum meorum
oſtentare, at, ſi res poſtulet, haſtas, vexillum, phale-
raſ, alia militaria dona, præterea cicatrices advorſo
corpore. Hæ ſunt meæ imagines, hæc nobilitas, non 30
hereditate relicta, ut illa illis, ſed quæ egomet pluri-
mis laboribus et periculis quæſivi. Non ſunt con- 31

posita mea verba ; parum id facio ; ipsa se virtus
satis ostendit ; illis artificio opus est, ut turpia facta
32 oratione tegant. Neque litteras Græcas didici ; pa-
rum placebat eas discere, quippe quæ ad virtutem
33 doctoribus nihil profuerunt. At illa multo optuma
rei publicæ doctus sum, hostem ferire, præsidia agi-
tare, nihil metuere nisi turpem famam, hiemem et
æstatem juxta pati, humi requiescere, eodem tempore
34 inopiam et laborem tolerare. His ego præceptis milites
hortabor, neque illos arte colam, me opulenter, neque
gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam. Hoc est utile,
35 hoc civile imperium. Namque quom tute per molli-
tiam agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id est domi-
36 num, non imperatorem esse. Hæc atque talia majores
vostri faciundo seque remque publicam celebravere.
37 Quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos
illorum æmulos contemnit, et omnis honores non ex
38 merito, sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit. Ceterum
homines superbissumi procul errant. Majores eorum
omnia, quæ licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines,
memoriam sui præclaram ; virtutem non reliquere,
neque poterant ; ea sola neque datur dono neque
39 accipitur. Sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt,
quia parum scite convivium exorno, neque histrionem
ullum, neque pluris preti cocium quam vilicum habeo.
40 Quæ mihi lubet confiteri, Quirites ; nam ex parente
meo et ex aliis sanctis viris ita accepi, munditias
mulieribus, viris laborem convenire, omnibusque bo-
nis oportere plus gloriæ quam divitiarum esse ; arma,
41 non supellectilem decori esse. Quin ergo quod juvat,
quod carum æstumant, id semper faciant ; ament,
potent, ubi adulescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem
agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissumæ parti
corporis ; sudorem, pulverem et alia talia relinquunt
nobis, quibus illa epulis jocundiora sunt. Verum
42 non est ita. Nam ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere tur-
43 pissimi viri, bonorum præmia ereptum eunt. Ita
injustissime luxuria et ignavia, pessumæ artes, illis,
qui coluere eas, nihil obficiunt, rei publicæ innoxie
44 cladi sunt. Nunc quoniam illis, quantum mores mei,

non illorum flagitia poscebant, respondi, pauca de re publica loquar. Primum omnium de Numidia bonum 45 habete animum, Quirites; nam quæ ad hoc tempus Jugurtham tutata sunt, omnia removistis, avaritiam, inperitiam atque superbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est, locorum sciens, sed mehercule magis strenuus quam felix; nam magna pars ejus avaritia aut teme- 46 ritate ducum adtrita est. Quamobrem vos, quibus 47 militaris ætas est, adnitimini mecum et capessite rem publicam, neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit. Ego met in agmine, in prælio consultor idem et socius periculi vobiscum adero, meque vosque in omnibus rebus juxta geram. Et profecto dis juvantibus om- 48 nia matura sunt, victoria, præda, laus; quæ si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnis bonos rei publicæ subvenire decebat. Etenim nemo ignavia immortalis 49 factus est, neque quisquam parens liberis, uti æterni forent, optavit, magis, uti boni honestique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtu- 50 tem verba adderent; nam strenuis abunde dictum puto.

LXXXVI. Hujuscemodi oratione habita Marius, 1 postquam plebis animos adrectos videt, propere conmeatu, stipendio, armis aliisque utilibus navis onerat; cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci jubet. Ipse 2 interea milites scribere, non more majorum, neque ex classibus, sed uti cujusque lubido erat, capite censos plerosque. Id factum alii inopia bonorum, 3 alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant; quod ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat, et homini potentiam quærenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus, cui neque sua curæ, quippe quæ nulla sunt, et omnia cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Ma- 4 rius cum aliquanto majore numero, quam decretum erat, in Africam profectus, paucis diebus Uticam advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato; 5 nam Metellus conspectum Mari fugerat, ne videret ea, quæ audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

LXXXVII. Sed consul expletis legionibus cohor- 1

tibusque auxiliariis in agrum fertilem et præda onustum proficiscitur; omnia ibi capta militibus donat, dein castella et oppida natura et viris parum munita adgreditur; prælia multa, ceterum levia, alia aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites sine metu pugnae adesse, videre fugientis capi aut occidi, fortissimum quemque tutissimum armis libertatem, patriam parentesque et alia omnia tegi, gloriam atque divitias quæri. Sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium æqualis facta. At reges, ubi de adventu Mari cognoverunt, divorsi in locos difficilis abeunt. Ita Jugurthæ placuerat speranti mox effusus hostis invadi posse, Romanos sicuti plerosque remoto metu laxius licentiusque futuros.

1 LXXXVIII. Metellus interea Romam profectus contra spem suam lætissimis animis excipitur, plebi patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, juxta carus. 2 Sed Marius impigre prudenterque suorum et hostium res pariter attendere, cognoscere quid boni utrisque aut contra esset, explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias eorum antevenire, nihil apud se remissum 3 neque apud illos tutum pati. Itaque et Gætulos et Jugurtham ex sociis nostris prædas agentis sæpe adgressus in itinere fuderat, ipsumque regem haud 4 procul ab oppido Circa armis exuerat. Quæ postquam gloriosa modo neque belli patranda cognovit, statuit urbis, quæ viris aut loco pro hostibus et adversum se opportunissimæ erant, singulas circumvenire; ita Jugurtham aut præsidiis nudatum, si ea 5 pateretur, aut proelio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nuntios ad eum sæpe miserat, velle populi Romani 6 amicitiam; ne quid ab se hostile timeret. Id simulaveritne, quo improvisus gravior accideret, an mobilitate ingeni pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum est.

1 LXXXIX. Sed consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire, partim vi, alia metu aut 2 præmia ostendendo avortere ab hostibus. Ac primo mediocria gerebat, existumans Jugurtham ob suos 3 tutandos in manus venturum. Sed ubi illum procul

abesse et aliis negotiis intentum acceperat, majora et magis aspera adgredi tempus visum est. Erat inter 4 ingentis solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa, cujus conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham immunes, levi imperio, et ob ea fidelissumi, habebantur, muniti advorsum hostis non mœnibus modo et armis atque viris, verum etiam multo magis locorum asperitate. Nam præter oppido propinqua alia omnia vasta, 5 inculta, egentia aquæ, infesta serpentibus, quorum vis sicuti omnium ferarum inopia cibi acrior; ad hoc natura serpentium ipsa perniciosa siti magis quam alia re accenditur. Ejus potiundi Marium 6 maxuma cupido invaserat, quom propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur, et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna glória ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque, nisi quod apud Thalam non longe a mœnibus aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una modo atque ea intra oppidum jugi aqua, cetera pluvia utebantur. Id ibique et in omni Africa, quæ procul 7 a mari incultius agebat, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidæ plerumque lacte et ferina carne vescebantur et neque salem neque alia irritamenta gulæ quærebant; cibus illis advorsum famem atque sitim, non 8 lubricum neque luxuriæ erat.

XC. Igitur consul omnibus exploratis, credo dis 1 fretus, (nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere non poterat, quippe etiam frumenti inopia temptabatur, quod Numidæ pabulo pecoris magis quam arvo student, et quodcumque natum fuerat jussu regis in loca munita contulerant, ager autem aridus et frugum vacuus ea tempestate, nam æstatis extremum erat,) tamen pro rei copia satis providenter exornat; pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus 2 prædæ fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum adtribuit, A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi stipendium et conneatum locaverat, ire jubet dicitque se prædabundum post paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incepto suo occultato pergit ad flumen Tanam.

- 1 XCI. Ceterum in itinere quotidie pecus exercitui
per centurias, item turmas æqualiter distribuerat, et
ex coriis utres uti fierent curabat; simul et inopiam
frumenti lenire et ignaris omnibus parare, quæ mox
usui forent; denique sexto die, quom ad flumen
2 ventum est, maxuma vis utrius effecta. Ibi castris
levi munimento positis, milites cibum capere atque,
uti simul cum occasu solis egrederentur, paratos esse
jubet, omnibus sarcinis abjectis, aqua modo seque et
3 jumenta onerare. Dein, postquam tempus visum,
castris egreditur noctemque totam itinere facto con-
sedit; idem proxuma facit, dein tertia multo ante
lucis adventum pervenit in locum tumulosum ab
Capsa non amplius duum milium intervallo; ibique,
quam occultissime potest, cum omnibus copiis obpe-
4 ritur. Sed ubi dies cœpit et Numidæ nihil hostile
metuentes, multi oppido egressi, repente omnem
equitatum et cum his velocissimos pedites cursu
tendere ad Capsam et portas obsidere jubet; deinde
ipse intentus propere sequi, neque milites prædari
5 sinere. Quæ postquam oppidani cognovere, res tre-
pidæ, metus ingens, malum inprovisum, ad hoc pars
civium extra mœnia in hostium potestate, coëgere,
6 uti deditionem facerent. Ceterum oppidum incen-
sum, Numidæ puberes interfecti, alii omnes venum-
7 dati, præda militibus divisa. Id facinus contra jus
belli non avaritia neque scelere consulis admissum,
sed quia locus Jugurthæ opportunus, nobis aditu
difficilis, genus hominum mobile, infidum ante, neque
beneficio neque metu coërcitum.
- 1 XCII. Postquam tantam rem Marius sine ullo
suorum incommodo patravit, magnus et clarus antea,
2 major atque clarior haberi cœpit. Omnia non bene
consulta in virtutem trahebantur, milites modesto
imperio habiti simul et locupletes ad cœlum ferre,
Numidæ magis quam mortalem timere, postremo
omnes, socii atque hostes, credere illi aut mentem
3 divinam esse aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi. Sed
consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit,
pauca repugnantibus Numidis, capit, plura deserta

propter Capsensium miserias igni conrumpit; luctu atque cæde omnia conplentur. Denique multis locis 4 potitus ac plerisque exercitu incruento, aliam rem adgreditur non eadem asperitate qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus difficilem. Namque haud longe 5 a flumine Mulucha, quod Jugurthæ Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus, mediocri castello satis patens, in inmensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto, nam omnis naturâ velut opere atque consulto præceps. Quem 6 locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit. Sed ea res forte quam consilio melius gesta. Nam castello virorum atque armorum 7 satis, magna vis frumenti et fons aquæ, aggeribus turribusque et aliis machinationibus locus inportunus, iter castellanorum angustum admodum, utrimque præcisum. Vineæ cum ingenti periculo frustra 8 agebantur; nam quom eæ paullo processerant, igni aut lapidibus conrumpebantur; milites neque pro 9 opere consistere propter iniquitatem loci, neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare; optumus quisque cadere aut sauciari, ceteris metus augeri.

XCIII. At Marius, multis diebus et laboribus con- 1 sumptis, anxius trahere cum animo suo, omitteretne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam oberiretur, qua sæpe prospere usus fuerat. Quæ quom 2 multos dies noctisque æstuans agitare, forte quidam Ligus, ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli; quod avorsum præliantibus erat, animum advortit inter saxa repentis cocleas; quarum quom unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi paullatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi postquam solitudinem intellexit, more humani 3 ingeni cupido difficilia faciundi animum vortit. Et 4 forte in eo loco grandis illex coaluerat inter saxa, paullum modo prona, dein flexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert; cujus ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus in castelli planitiem pervenit, quod cuncti Numidæ

- 5 intenti proeliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quæ mox usui fore ducebat, eadem regreditur, non temere, uti escenderat, sed temptans omnia et circum-
- 6 spiciens. Itaque Marium propere adit, acta edocet, hortatur, ab ea parte, qua ipse escenderat, castellum temptet; pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem.
- 7 Marius cum Ligure promissa ejus cognitum ex præsentibus misit; quorum uti cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nuntiavere. Consulis
- 8 animus tamen paullum adrectus. Itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum numero quinque quam velocissimos delegit, et cum his, præsidio qui forent, quattuor centuriones, omnisque Liguri parere jubet, et ei negotio proximum diem constituit.
- 1 XCIV. Sed ubi ex præcepto tempus visum, paratis conpositisque omnibus ad locum pergit. Ceterum illi, qui adscensuri erant, prædocti ab duce, arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret; super terga gladii et scuta, verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia simul et offensa quo levius streperent:
- 2 Igitur prægrediens Ligus saxa, et si quæ vetustate radices eminebant, laqueis vinciebat, quibus adlevati milites facilius escenderent, interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu, ubi paullo asperior adscensus erat, singulos præ se inermis mittere, deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi, quæ dubia nisu videbantur, potissimum temptare, ac sæpius eadem adscendens descendensque, dein statim digrediens,
- 3 ceteris audaciam addere. Igitur diu multumque fatigati tandem in castellum perveniunt, desertum ab ea parte, quod omnes sicuti aliis diebus adversum hostis aderant. Marius, ubi ex nuntiis, quæ Ligus egerat, cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos prælio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites et ipse extra vineas egressus, testudine acta succedere et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et fundito-
- 4 ribus eminus terrere. At Numidæ sæpe antea vineis Romanorum subvorsis, item incensis, non castelli mœnibus sese tutabantur; sed pro muro dies noctis-

que agitare, maledicere Romanis ac Mario vecordiam objectare, militibus nostris Jugurthæ servitium minari, secundis rebus feroces esse. Interim omnibus, Romanis hostibusque, proelio intentis, magna utrimque vi pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente a tergo signa canere; ac primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere, deinde uti quisque muro proximus erat, postremo cuncti, armati inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere ac plerosque tantummodo sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriæ certantes murum petere, neque quemquam omnium præda morari. Sic forte contra Mari temeritas gloriam ex culpa invenit.

XCV. Ceterum dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quæstor cum magno equitatu in castra venit, quos uti ex Latio et a sociis cogeret, Romæ relictus erat. Sed quoniam nos tanti viri res admonuit, idoneum visum est de natura cultuque ejus paucis dicere; neque enim alio loco de Sullæ rebus dicturi sumus, et L. Sisenna optume et diligentissime omnium, qui eas res dixere, persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla gentis patriciæ nobilis fuit, familia prope jam extincta majorum ignavia, litteris Græcis atque Latinis juxta, atque doctissime, eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriæ cupidior, otio luxurioso esse; tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli; facundus, callidus et amicitia facilis; ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingeni incredibilis; multarum rerum ac maxime pecuniæ largitor. Atque illi, felicissimo omnium ante civilem victoriam, numquam super industriam fortuna fuit, multique dubitavere, fortior an felicior esset; nam postea quæ fecerit, incertum habeo, pudeat magis an pigeat disserere.

XCVI. Igitur Sulla, uti supra dictum est, postquam in Africam atque in castra Mari cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, sollertissimus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc milites

benigne adpellare, multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere, sed ea prope-
 rantius quam æs mutuum reddere, ipse ab nullo
 repetere, magis id laborare, ut illi quam plurimi
 deberent, joca atque seria cum humillimis agere, in
 3 operibus, in agmine atque ad vigiliis multus adesse,
 neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, consulis aut
 cujusquam boni famam lædere, tantummodo neque
 consilio neque manu priorem alium pati, plerosque
 4 antevenire. Quis rebus et artibus brevi Mario mili-
 tibusque carissimus factus.

1 XCVII. At Jugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam
 aliosque locos munitos et sibi utilis, simul et magnam
 pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuntios mittit, quam
 primum in Numidiam copias adduceret, proeli faci-
 2 undi tempus adesse. Quem ubi cunctari accepit et
 dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere, rursus, uti
 antea, proximos ejus donis corrumpit, ipsique Mauro
 pollicetur Numidiæ partem tertiam, si aut Romani
 Africa expulsi, aut integris suis finibus bellum con-
 3 positum foret. Eo præmio inlectus Bocchus cum
 magna multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita amborum
 exercitu conjuncto, Marius jam in hiberna proficis-
 centem, vix decuma parte die reliqua, invadunt, rati
 noctem, quæ jam aderat, et victis sibi munimento
 fore et, si vicissent, nullo impedimento, quia locorum
 scientes erant, contra Romanis utrumque casum in
 4 tenebris difficiliorem fore. Igitur simul consul ex
 multis de hostium adventu cognovit, et ipsi hostes
 aderant et, priusquam exercitus aut instrui aut sar-
 cinas conligere, denique antequam signum aut im-
 perium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri atque
 Gætuli, non acie neque ullo more proeli, sed caterva-
 tim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros con-
 5 currunt; qui omnes trepidi improviso metu, ac tamen
 virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant aut capientis
 alios ab hostibus defensabant, pars equos descendere,
 obviam ire hostibus, pugna latrocinio magis quam
 proelio similis fieri, sine signis, sine ordinibus equites
 pedites permixti; cedere alios, alios obtruncare;

multos, contra advorsos acerrume pugnantis, ab tergo circumvenire; neque virtus neque arma satis tegere, quod hostes numero plures et undique circumfusi erant; denique Romani veteres [novique] et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus aut casus conjunxerat, orbis facere, atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

XCVIII. Neque in eo tam aspero negotio Marius 1
territus aut magis quam antea demisso animo fuit, sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissimis magis quam familiarissimis paraverat, vagari passim, ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostis, ubi confertissimi obstiterant, invadere; manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare, conturbatis omnibus, non poterat. Jamque dies consumptus erat, quom tamen 2
barbari nihil remittere, atque, uti reges præceperant, noctem pro se rati, acrius instare. Tum Marius ex 3
copia rerum consilium trahit, atque, uti suis receptui locus esset, collis duos propinquos inter se occupat, quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquæ magnus erat, alter usui opportunus, quia magna parte editus et præceps pauca munimenta quærebat. Ce- 4
terum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet; ipse paullatim dispersos milites, neque minus hostibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit, dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit. Ita 5
reges loci difficultate coacti proelio deterrentur, neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed, utroque colle multitudine circumdato, effusi consedere. Dein cre- 6
bris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari more suo lætari, exsultare, strepere vocibus, et ipsi duces feroces, quia non fugerant, pro victoribus agere. Sed 7
ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editoribus locis facilia visu magnoque hortamento erant.

XCIX. Plurimum vero Marius inperitia hostium 1
confirmatus, quam maximum silentium haberi jubet, ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere; deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus et paullo ante somno captis, de improvviso vigiles, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul om-

nis signa canere, milites clamorem tollere atque portis
 2 erumpere. Mauri atque Gætuli, ignoto et horribili
 sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere neque arma ca-
 pere neque omnino facere aut providere quicquam
 3 poterant; ita cunctos strepitu, clamore, nullo sub-
 veniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, terrore, for-
 mido quasi vecordia ceperat. Denique omnes fusi
 fugatique; arma et signa militaria pleraque capta,
 pluresque eo proelio quam omnibus superioribus in-
 terempti. Nam somno et metu insolito impedita
 fuga.

1 C. Dein Marius, uti cœperat, in hiberna; propter
 conneatum in oppidis maritimis agere decreverat.
 Neque tamen victoria socors aut insolens factus, sed
 pariter atque in conspectu hostium quadrato agmine
 2 incedere; Sulla cum equitatu apud dextumos, in
 sinistra parte A. Manlius cum funditoribus et sagit-
 tariis, præterea cohortis Ligurum curabat; primos et
 extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat.
 3 Perfugæ, minime cari et regionum scientissimi, hos-
 tium iter explorabant. Simul consul, quasi nullo
 inposito, omnia providere, apud omnis adesse, lau-
 4 dare et increpare merentis. Ipse armatus intentus-
 que, item milites cogebat; neque secus, atque iter
 facere, castra munire, excubitu in porta cohortis ex
 legionibus, pro castris equites auxilios mittere,
 præterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare,
 vigilias ipse circumire, non tam diffidentia futurum,
 quæ imperavisset, quam uti militibus exæquatus cum
 5 imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sane Marius
 illoque aliisque temporibus Jugurthini belli pudore
 magis quam malo exercitum coërcebat; quod multi
 per ambitionem fieri aiebant, pars quod a pueritia
 consuetum duritiam et alia, quæ ceteri miseras
 vocant, voluptati habuisset; nisi tamen res publica
 pariter ac sævissumo imperio bene atque decore
 gesta.

1 Cl. Igitur quarto denique die haud longe ab oppido
 Circa undique simul speculatores citi sese ostendunt,
 2 qua re hostis adesse intellegitur. Sed quia divorsi

redeuntes alius ab alia parte atque omnes idem significabant, consul incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine conmutato, advorsum omnia paratus, ibidem obperitur. Ita Jugurtham spes frustra, qui copias in quattuor partis distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus æque aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primum hostes adtigerant, cohortatus suos, turmatim et quam maxime confertis equis ipse alique Mauros invadunt, ceteri in loco manentes ab jaculis eminens emissis corpora tegere et, si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare. Dum eo modo equites præliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux filius ejus adduxerat; neque in priore pugna, in itinere morati, adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos agebat, quod ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis erat. Dein Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis ad pedites convortit; ibi Latine (nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat) exclamat: nostros frustra pugnare, paullo ante Marium sua manu interfectum; simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna satis impigre occiso pedita nostro cruentaverat. Quod ubi milites accepere, magis atrocitate rei quam fide nunti terrentur, simulque barbari animos tollere et in percussos Romanos acrius incedere. Jamque paulum ab fuga aberant, quom Sulla, profligatis iis, quos advorsum ierat, rediens ab latere Mauris incurrit. Bocchus statim avortitur. At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos et prope jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus, dextra sinistra omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus erumpit. Atque interim Marius fugatis equitibus adcurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli jam acceperat. Denique hostes jam undique fusi. Tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus: sequi fugere, occidi capi; equi atque viri afflicti, ac multi vulneribus acceptis neque fugere posse neque quietem pati, niti modo, ac statim concidere; postremo omnia, qua visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus, et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

- 1 CII. Post ea loci consul haud dubie jam victor per-
venit in oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus inten-
2 derat. Eo post diem quintum quam iterum barbari
male pugnaverant, legati a Boccho veniunt, qui regis
verbis ab Mario petivere, duos quam fidissimos ad
eum mitteret, velle de suo et de populi Romani com-
3 modo cum iis disserere. Ille statim L. Sullam et
A. Manlium ire jubet. Qui quamquam acciti ibant,
tamen placuit verba apud regem facere, uti ingenium
aut avorsum flecterent aut cupidum pacis vehe-
4 mentius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiæ,
non ætati, a Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujusce-
modi locutus :
- 5 Rex Bocche, magna nobis lætitia est, quom te
talem virum di monuere, uti aliquando pacem quam
bellum malles, neu te optimum cum pessumo omnium
Jugurtha miscendo conmaculares, simul nobis de-
meres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem
6 atque illum sceleratissimum persequi. Ad hoc po-
pulo Romano jam a principio melius visum amicos
quam servos quærere ; tutiusque rati volentibus quam
7 coactis imperitare. Tibi vero nulla opportunior nostra
amicitia, primum, quod procul absumus, in quo of-
fensæ minumum, gratia par ac si prope adessemus ;
dein quod parentis abunde habemus, amicorum neque
8 nobis neque cuiquam omnium satis fuit. Atque
hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset : profecto ex
populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura bona
9 accepisses, quam mala perpessus es. Sed quoniam
humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit, cui scilicet
placuisse et vim et gratiam nostram te experiri, nunc,
quando per illam licet, festina atque, uti cœpisti,
10 perge. Multa atque opportuna habes, quo facilius
11 errata officiis superes. Postremo hoc in pectus tuum
demitte, numquam populum Romanum beneficiis
victum esse ; nam bello quid valeat, tute scis.
- 12 Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne ; simul pauca
pro delicto suo verba facit : Se non hostili animo, sed
13 ob regnum tutandum arma cepisse ; nam Numidiæ
partem, unde vi Jugurtham expulerit, jure belli suam

factam ; eam vastari a Mario pati nequivisse ; præterea missis antea Romam legatis, repulsum ab amicitia. Ceterum vetera omittere ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum. Dein, 14 copia facta, animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognita legatione Sullæ et Manli, metuens id, quod parabatur, donis conruperat.

CIII. Marius interea, exercitu in hibernaculis con- 1 posito, cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca sola, obsessum turrim regiam, quo Jugurtha perfugas omnis præsidium inposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus, seu reputando, quæ sibi duobus 2 præliis venerant, seu admonitus ab aliis amicis, quos inconruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum et fides cognita et ingenia validissima erant. Eos ad Marium, ac 3 dein, si placeat, Romam legatos ire jubet, agendarum rerum et quocunque modo belli componendi licentiam ipsis permittit. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum 4 proficiscuntur, dein in itinere a Gætulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique, pavidi, sine decore ad Sullam profugiunt, quem consul in expeditionem proficiscens pro prætore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus, uti meriti erant, sed adcurate ac liberaliter habuit ; qua re barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiæ falsam et Sullam ob munificentiam in sese amicum rati. Nam etiamtum largitio multis ignota 6 erat ; munificus nemo putabatur nisi pariter volens, dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. Igitur quæ- 7 tori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt ; simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit ; copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui et alia, quæ aut utilia aut benevolentiae esse credebant, oratione extollunt ; dein Sulla omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum verba facerent, circiter dies quadraginta ibidem obperiuntur.

CIV. Marius postquam confecto negotio, quo intenderat, Cirtam redit, de adventu legatorum certior factus, illosque et Sullam venire jubet, item L. Bellienum prætorem Utica, præterea omnis undique se-

- natorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit.
- 2 Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit ab consule; interea induciæ postulabantur. Ea Sullæ et plerisque placuere; pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quæ fluxæ et mobiles semper in
- 3 advorsa mutantur. Ceterum Mauri, inpetratis omnibus, tres Romam profecti cum Cn. Octavio Rusone, qui quæstor stipendium in Africam portaverat; duo ad regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus quom cetera, tum maxume benignitatem et studium Sullæ lubens
- 4 accepit. Romæ legatis ejus, postquam errasse regem et Jugurthæ scelere lapsum deprecati sunt, amicitiam et fœdus petentibus hoc modo respondetur:
- 5 Senatus et populus Romanus benefici et injuriæ memor esse solet. Ceterum Boccho, quoniam pœnitet, delicti gratiam facit; fœdus et amicitia dabuntur, quom meruerit.
- 1 CV. Quis rebus cognitis Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit, uti Sullam ad se mitteret, cujus arbitratu de communibus negotiis consuleretur. Is missus cum præsidio equitum atque peditum, item funditorum Balearium; præterea iere sagittarii et cohors Peligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi causa, neque his secus atque aliis armis adversum
- 3 tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed in itinere quinto denique die Volux, filius Bocchi, repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit, qui temere et effuse euntes Sullæ aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliorem vero
- 4 et hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur se quisque expedire, arma atque tela temptare, intendere, timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus, et
- 5 adversum eos, quos sæpe vicerant. Interim equites exploratum præmissi rem uti erat quietam nuntiant.
- 1 CVI. Volux adveniens quæstorem adpellat dicitque se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul et præsidio missum. Deinde eum et proximum diem sine metu
- 2 conjuncti eunt. Post ubi castra locata et diei vesper erat, repente Maurus incerto vultu, pavens ad Sullam adcurrit dicitque sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum,

Jugurtham haud procul abesse; simul, uti noctu clam secum profugeret, rogat atque hortatur. Ille 3 animo feroci negat se totiens fusum Numidam pertimescere; virtuti suorum satis credere; etiamsi certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius quam proditis, quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertæ ac forsitan post paullo morbo interituræ vitæ parceret. Ceterum ab 4 eodem monitus, uti noctu proficiscerentur, consilium adprobat, ac statim milites cœnatos esse, in castris ignis quam creberrimos fieri, dein prima vigilia silentio egredi jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere fessis 5 omnibus Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, quom equites Mauri nuntiant Jugurtham circiter duum milium intervallo ante consedissee. Quod 6 postquam auditum est, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit; credere se proditos a Voluce et insidiis circumventos. Ac fuere, qui dicerent manu vindicandum neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

CVII. At Sulla, quamquam eadem existumabat, 1 tamen ab injuria Maurum prohibet; suos hortatur, uti fortem animum gererent; sæpe ante paucis strenuis advorsum multitudinem bene pugnatum; quanto sibi in prælio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore, nec quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, in maximo metu nudum et cæcum corpus ad hostis vortere. Deinde 2 Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, Jovem maximum obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiæ Bocchi testis adesset, ex castris abire jubet. Ille lacrumans orare, 3 ne ea crederet; nihil dolo factum, ac magis calliditate Jugurthæ, cui videlicet speculanti iter suum cognitum esset. Ceterum, quoniam neque ingentem 4 multitudinem haberet et spes opesque ejus ex patre suo penderent, credere illum nihil palam ausurum, quom ipse filius testis adesset; quare optimum factu 5 videri per media ejus castra palam transire; sese vel præmissis vel ibidem relictis Mauris solum cum Sulla iturum. Ea res ut in tali negotio probata; ac statim 6 profecti, quia de inproviso acciderant, dubio atque

7 hæsitante Jugurtha, incolumes transeunt. Deinde paucis diebus, quo ire intenderant, perventum est.

1 CVIII. Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam, Aspar nomine, multum et familiariter agebat, præmissus ab Jugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia; præterea Dabar, Massugradæ filius, ex gente Masinissæ, ceterum materno genere inpar, (nam pater ejus ex concubina ortus erat,) Mauro ob ingeni multa bona carus
2 acceptusque. Quem Bocchus fidum esse Romanis multis ante tempestatibus expertus illico ad Sullam nuntiatum mittit paratum sese facere, quæ populus Romanus vellet; conloquio diem, locum, tempus ipse delegeret; consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere; neu Jugurthæ legatum pertimesceret, . . . quo
3 ejus aliter caveri nequivisse. Sed ego conperior Bocchum magis Punica fide quam ob ea, quæ prædicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis adtinuisse multumque cum animo suo volvere solitum, Jugurtham Romanis an illi Sullam traderet; lubidinem advorsum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

1 CIX. Igitur Sulla respondit, pauca coram Aspare locuturum, cetera occulte aut nullo aut quam paucissimis præsentibus; simul edocet, quæ sibi responderentur. Postquam sicuti voluerat congressi, dicit se
2 missum a consule venisse quæsitum ab eo, pacem an bellum agitaturus foret. Tum rex, uti præceptum
3 fuerat, post diem decumum redire jubet, ac nihil etiamnunc decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum. Dein
4 ambo in sua castra digressi. Sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla a Boccho occulte accersitur; ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur, præterea Dabar internuntius, sanctus vir et ex sententia ambobus. Ac statim sic rex incipit:

1 CX. Numquam ego ratus sum fore, uti rex maximus in hac terra et omnium, quos novi, privato
2 homini gratiam deberem. Et mehercule, Sulla, ante te cognitum multis orantibus, aliis ultro egomet opem
3 tuli, nullius indigui. Id inminutum, quod ceteri

dolere solent, ego lætor; fuerit mihi eguisse aliquando amicitiae tuæ, qua apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id adeo experiri licet: arma, viros, 4 pecuniam, postremo quidquid animo lubet, sume, utere; et quoad vives, numquam tibi redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me integra erit; denique nihil me sciente frustra voles. Nam, ut ego 5 æstumo, regem armis quam munificentia vinci minus flagitiosum est. Ceterum de re publica vostra, cujus 6 curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque feci neque factum umquam volui: finis meos advorsum armatos armis tutatus sum. Id omitto, quando vobis ita placet; gerite 7 quod vultis cum Jugurtha bellum. Ego flumen 8 Mulucham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non egrediar neque id intrare Jugurtham sinam. Præterea si quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis.

CXI. Ad ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice, de 1 pace et de communibus rebus multis disseruit. Denique regi patefecit, quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam amplius armis valissent, non in gratiam habituros; faciendum aliquid, quod illorum magis quam sua rettulisse videretur; id adeo in promptu esse, quoniam Jugurthæ copiam haberet; quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore, ut illi plurimum deberetur; amicitiam, fœdus, Numidiæ partem, quam nunc peteret, tunc ultro adventuram. Rex primo negitare; adfinitatem, cognationem, præ- 2 terea fœdus intervenisse; ad hoc metuere, ne fluxa fide usus popularium animos avorteret, quis et Jugurtha carus et Romani invisi erant. Denique sæpius 3 fatigatus lenitur et ex voluntate Sullæ omnia se facturum promittit. Ceterum ad simulandam pacem, 4 cujus Numida defessus bello avidissimus, quæ utilia visa, constituunt. Ita composito dolo digrediuntur.

CXII. At rex postero die Asparem Jugurthæ legatum adpellat dicitque sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum, posse condicionibus bellum poni; quamobrem regis sui sententiam exquireret. Ille lætus in 2

castra Jugurthæ venit; dein ab illo cuncta edoctus, properato itinere post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum et ei denuntiat, Jugurtham cupere omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere, sed Mario parum confidere; sæpe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam frustra fuisse. Ceterum Bocchus si ambobus consultum et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut una ab omnibus quasi de pace in conloquium veniretur, ibique sibi Sullam traderet; quom talem virum in potestatem habuisset, tum fore, uti jussu senatus atque populi Romani fœdus fieret, neque hominem nobilem non sua ignavia sed ob rem publicam in hostium potestate relictum iri.

- 1 CXIII. Hæc Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit, ceterum dolo an vere cunctatus, parum conperimus. Sed plerumque regiæ voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, sæpe ipsæ sibi advorsæ.
- 2 Postea tempore et loco constituto, in conloquium uti de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Jugurthæ legatum adpellare, benigne habere, idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter læti ac spei bonæ pleni
- 3 esse. Sed nocte ea, quæ proxuma fuit ante diem conloquio decretum, Maurus adhibitis amicis ac statim, inmutata voluntate, remotis, dicitur secum ipse multa agitavisse, vultu corporis pariter atque animo varius, quæ scilicet tacente ipso occulta pectoris
- 4 patefecisse. Tamen postremo Sullam accersi jubet et
- 5 ex ejus sententia Numidæ insidias tendit. Deinde, ubi dies advenit et ei nuntiatum est Jugurtham haud procul abesse, cum paucis amicis et quæstore nostro quasi obvis honoris causa procedit in tumultum facillimum visu insidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum
- 6 plerisque necessariis suis inermis, uti dictum erat, accedit ac statim, signo dato, undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Ceteri obruncati; Jugurtha Sullæ
- 7 vinctus traditur, et ab eo ad Marium deductus est.

- 1 CXIV. Per idem tempus advorsum Gallos ab du-
cibus nostris Q. Cæpione et Cn. Manlio male pugna-
- 2 tum; quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. Illique et inde usque ad nostram memoriam Romani sic

habuere, alia omnia virtuti suæ prona esse: cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria, certare. Sed post-³quam bellum in Numidia confectum et Jugurtham Romam vinctum adduci nuntiatum est, Marius consul absens factus et ei decreta provincia Gallia;isque Kalendis Januariis magna gloria consul triumphavit. Ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis⁴ in illo sitæ.

NOTES

ON THE

CATILINA.

I. 1. *Omnis*, i. q. *omnes*. For this form of the accusative plural see Excursus I. *ad fin.*—*sese student præstare*, desire to excel; lit., stand before. The pronoun *sese*, it is plain, is not necessary in this place; but there is abundant authority for this construction. Thus we meet with *Qui placere se student bonis*, Ter. Eun. Pr. 1. *Ille tenuis . . . gratum se videri studet*, Cic. Off. ii. 10. For the use of *sese* instead of *se*, see Excursus I. 15. *Studeo*, we may here observe, answers to our word *study* only when joined with *litteris*, expressed or understood. This verb is akin to *σπουδῶ, σπεύδω*.—*ne*, i. e. *ut non*—*silentio*, in inactivity, or in obscurity. *Biduum deinde silentium fuit neutris transgredientibus annem*, Liv. xxxvii. 38. *Quantum etenim distant a morte silentia vitæ?* Sil. Ital. iii. 145. This explains the phrase *luna silente*, used by Cato and Pliny to express the time of new moon: comp. Milton, Samp. Agon. 87.—2. *Sed, δέ*, now: see Excursus I. 18.—*magis*, i. e. *potius*: see on Virg. Buc. i. 11.—3. *Quo*, from which, i. e. wherefore. In cases of this kind some lost or obsolete term answering to *πᾶγμα* or *χρῆμα* is understood.—*rectius*, i. e. *melius*.—*ingeni*: see Excursus I. *ad fin.*—*virium*, sc. *corporis*. The plural of this noun is never used of the mind.—*nostri*, sc. *capitis*, of our personality, i. e. of us, our: see Excursus I. 2.—4. *et*, i. q. *aut*: see Virg. Excursus V.—*formæ*, personal beauty.—*virtus* (i. q. *ingeniopes* § 3), mental power and energy; hence, courage, valour. It is only in these senses that Sallust uses this word, and the former appears to have been its original and proper meaning. *Virtus*, ἀρετή (which may have once had the digamma), the German *Würde* and English *worth* are kindred terms, and all denote power; but while the Greek and Latin words relate to

that of the mind, the Teutonic refer rather to external dignity and authority. Thus, our word *worship* (i. e. *worthship*) is still applied to magistrates, and our verb *to worship* is, properly, to ascribe worship, i. e. power and authority to any one.—*gloria*, reputation. It is the French *gloire* rather than our *glory*.—*fluxa*, ready to flow, fleeting. It was a practice of the Latin language to use the past part. of some verbs in the sense of an adj. in *bilis*: see on Jug. ii. 3.—*habetur*, i. e. *se habet*, *ἔχεται*, i. e. *est*. In this case it is a mid. voice.—5. *Sed* (see on § 2), etc. This appears to be an hypothesis of the historian's own; for we no where else read of this dispute.—*mortalis* (*θνητός*) sc. *homines*.—*magis*: see on § 2.—6. *incipias*, Indef.: see Excursus I. 2.—7. *indigens*, sc. *est*, i. e. is imperfect, insufficient.

II. 1. *Igitur*, i. e. in consequence of this dispute: see i. 5.—*initio*, sc. *rerum*, i. e. in the early ages of the world.—*nomen id*, i. e. *regnum*, included in *reges*, by synesis, a figure which Sallust often employs. *Ergo in Græcia musici floruerunt discebantque id omnes*, Cic. Tusc. i. 2.—*divorsi*, sc. *abcentes*, taking different courses or views.—*pars . . . alii*, i. e. *alii . . . alii*. This is a favourite construction with Sallust. He means that while some applied themselves to legislation and other acts of the mind, others devoted themselves to the chase and such like bodily exercises. He evidently intimates that as yet there had been no wars, and appears to have forgotten those of Thebes and Troy.—*etiamtum*, sc. *nam*, still, i. e. even after the establishment of monarchy. He seems to suppose a preceding Golden Age.—*agitabatur*, i. e. *agebatur*: see Excursus I. 6.—*cupiditate*, sc. *dominationis*, lust of dominion.—*satis*, i. e. *bene*, *abunde*. This is a common sense of this word. *Satius* is always i. q. *melius*.—2. *Postea*, etc. Long however before the time of Cyrus, the Dorian migration, and the conquest of Messene by the Lacedæmonians, had taken place: see Hist. of Greece, Part I. ch. iii. and vi.; and it was not till long after his time that the Athenians began to acquire dominion. He probably mentions Cyrus because Herodotus begins his history with him, and because, as Gerlach observes, he regarded his time as the commencement of true history.—*causam*, sc. *bonam*.—*habere*, i. e. *putare*, to esteem, reckon.—*periculo*, trial, experience. *Qui quotidie periculum fortunæ faciat*, Cic. Phil. v. 14. Like *valetudo*, *tempestas*, *facinus*, it came to be used with *malum*, *adversum*, understood, and to signify *danger*.—*negotius*, i. e. by the actual management of affairs. Corte supposed a *ἐν δὲ δυνάμει* in this place; but, as we may see, it is not at all necessary. It is

not at all necessary. It is only Sallust's usual manner of joining two nearly synonymous words: see Excursus I. 9.—3. *Quodsi*, i. e. *ob quod si*, i. e. on account of this plain and evident superiority of the mental powers, if they were also exercised in times of peace, etc. Kritz makes *quodsi* merely a particle of connexion: see Zumpt, § 342.—*imperatorum*, rulers, not *duces*: comp. vi. 7.—*animi virtus*: see i. 5.—*valeret*, would continue in vigour, i. e. would not degenerate.—*neque aliud*, etc., i. e. there would not be conquests, internal dissensions, etc. He has the history of Rome after the conquest of Carthage in view.—*alio*, sc. *homini*; or perhaps *loco*, *alio* being the regular dat. of *alius*: see Zumpt, § 140. *Reguli . . . alius alio concessere*, Jug. xii. 2.—*Ubi cum alii alio tenderent*, Liv. xxiv. 28. *Si alii alio trahant res*, Id. ib.—*cerneres*: see on i. 6.—4. *artibus*, sc. *animi*, i. e. *virtutibus*: see § 3.—5. *continentia*. This word and *abstinentia* are restricted by Sallust to things relating to money.—*lubido*, here opposed to *continentia*, and therefore to be restricted in the same manner.—*invasere*, sc. *reges et imperatores*: comp. xii. 2. It is used like the Greek aorist, ἐπέσταν.—6. *Ita imperium*, etc. He is now apparently alluding to the changes of empire in the East, for at Rome matters had been continually deteriorating.—7. *Quæ homines arant*, etc., sc. *etiam*. But it is not alone in the conduct of wars and ruling of states that mental power exhibits its superiority; it does so equally in the inferior arts of agriculture, navigation, and building. The Latin language does not, we believe, contain another instance of such a mode of construction as this is.—*virtuti parent*. *Omnis enim res . . . Divitiis parent*, Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 94.—8. *Sed multi*, etc. It might therefore be expected that men would cultivate their mental powers, but, on the contrary, etc. By *multi mortales* he may mean, the bulk of mankind, οἱ πολλοί.—*dediti*, etc., i. e. being mere animals, as we would express it.—*sicuti peregrinantes*. Because persons who are only travelling through a country, take no share in its affairs, public or private, and in general get but a slight knowledge of it.—*transiere*, an aorist. Many MSS. read *transegere*, which Corte and Gerlach have adopted.—*profecto*, i. e. *pro facto*, in deed, of a truth.—*naturam*, sc. *humanam*.—*oneri*. There is great force in this term, indicating how utterly sunk they were in material enjoyments.—*juxta*, i. e. *pariter nihili*.—9. *Verum enimvero*. Sallust uses this rather rare expression only here and xx. 10. It occurs in Plautus (Capt. v. 4, 2); Terence (Ad. ii. 5, 2); Cato (*ap.* Gell. xiii. 24); Cicero (Verr. iii. 84); and Livy (iv. 4. xxiv. 5).—*vivere*, sc. *vere*.—*aliquo negotio*. This, Kritz

says, is an abl. instrum., in which case *intentus* is to be taken in its passive sense. If it is to be used in its ordinary deponent sense, *aliquo negotio* must be a dat., *aliquo* being i. q. *aliquoi*, *alicui*, like *quo*. For *intentus*, see on iv. 1.—*facinoris*, deed, course of action, in which the powers of the body were engaged, though not exclusively, such as command in war, pleading in the Forum, etc. *Facinus* is one of those words, which simply expressing an act or condition, is used sometimes in a good, sometimes in a bad sense, the adj. *malus* being understood in the latter case. Such are *dolus*, *tempestas*, *valetudo*: see on § 2.—*artis*. This relates more particularly to the mind, such as literary pursuits: comp. § 4.—10. *Sed*, *δὲ*, now.

III. 1. *Pulchrum*, *καλόν*, i. e. morally beautiful, good.—*bene facere*. This is the preceding *præclarum facinus*.—*rei publicæ* (dat.), for the state.—*bene dicere*, the preceding *ars bona*, i. e. literary merit, not public speaking, as appears by what follows.—*haud absurdum* (litotes), no mean merit. *Absurdus* is usually derived from *ab surdus*, as being what is not worth listening to; but may it not be derived from *ordo*, or some lost kindred term? *Haud fuerit absurdum tradere, montem eum antiquitus Querquetulanum cognomento fuisse*. Tac. Ann. iv. 65. Here *absurdum* evidently means, beside our purpose, out of our course, unsuitable: comp. Eund. Ann. iii. 47; xii. 9; xiii. 45.—*multi*. This is not as Dahl understood it, i. q. *multum* or *valde*.—*laudantur*, are named with commendation and praise. In this sense *laudo* is used as equivalent to our *quote*, *cite*, in speaking of authors.—2. *auctorem*, the author of, he who, as it were, gives origin to events, giving them dignity and importance by his exertions of mind and body in them. Many MSS. (which Orelli follows) read *actorem*.—*arduum*, difficult. We take this word here in its ordinary sense, as nearly i. q. *difficile*, with which Cicero frequently joins it. Gellius (iv. 15), in defending it against some cavillers, says it is *δυσχερής* or *χαλεπός*, annoying, disagreeable, and the commentators adopt his views. But the plain meaning of Sallust is, that it is a very difficult thing to write history in such a manner as will give general satisfaction, as, independent of the inherent difficulties, it has to encounter prejudices.—*scribere*, sc. *bene*.—*reprehenderis*. Indef.: see on i. 6.—*supra ea*, sc. *quæ dicta sunt*. In this place Sallust had evidently in his view the following passage in the speech of Pericles (Thuc. ii. 35): "Ο τε γὰρ ξυνηιδῶς καὶ εὐνους ἀκροατῆς τάχ' ἂν τι ἐνδυστέρως πρὸς ἃ βούλεται τε καὶ ἐπίσταται νομίσειε δηλοῦσθαι· ὃ τε ἀπειρος ἔστιν ἃ καὶ πλε-

ονάζεσθαι, διὰ φθόνον, εἴ τι ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἀκούσι. Μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ ἔπαινοί εἰσι περὶ ἐτέρων λεγόμενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴηται ἱκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαι τι ὧν ἡκούσει· τῷ δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν φθονοῦντες ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσι.—3. *adolescens*, i. q. *adolescens* (see on Jug. xi. 2), i. e. when a young man. This word, like *puer*, etc., is used with great latitude : comp. xlix. 2.—*initio*, i. e. at the commencement of my career of life.—*studio*, sc. *meo* or *magno* : see on i. 1. *Populus studio stupidus* (i. e. *stupens*) in *funambulo animum occuparat*, Ter. Hec. Pr. i. 4. *Equidem fateor me ad hoc bellum majore studio quam consilio profectum*, Tac. Hist. iii. 11.—*rem publicam*, public affairs, i. e. seeking for office in the state, i. e. the *quæstorship*, the first office, and for which the legitimate age was thirty-one years.—*abstinentia*, sc. *a pecunia* : see on ii. 5. It seems here to be opposed to *largitio* rather than to *avaritia*. But these two last vices are akin, and *abstinentia* is, we may say, a part of the *virtus animi*, which enables a man to conquer the meaner passions.—*largitio*. This answers to our bribing and treating at elections.—*avaritia* (from *aveo*), cupidity, covetousness, the desire of gain in general, and not merely *μικρολογία*, our *avarice* ; for the *avarus* might be and, as is here supposed, often was very extravagant. In fact, *avarus* is sometimes used as i. q. *avidus* : see on Virg. Geor. i. 47, and Hor. A. P. 324.—4. *aspernabatur*, rejected, lit. spurned at, cast off from it with aversion and disdain.—*insolens*, unused to, unacquainted with.—*malarum artium* : comp. ii. 9.—*vitia*, i. e. *vitiosos*.—*tenebatur*, was kept detained, prevented from escaping.—5. *reliquis*. Corte, Gerlach, and Orelli, read *reliquorum*, sc. *hominum*.—*malis moribus* : see § 4.—*dissentirem*, I differed from, was free from, cultivated the opposite virtues. *Galliæ ceterarum gentium more ac natura dissentiunt*, Cic. pro Font. 9.—*honoris cupido*, desire of office in the state.—*eadem qua*. This is the reading of Gronovius, Bip. and Orelli, who take *fama* and *invidia* as ablatives. Corte reads *eadem quæ*, Kritz *eademque quæ*.—*fama*, sc. *mala*.—*invidia*, odium. Sallust uses the word frequently in this sense. *Scaurus nonnullam habebat invidiam quod . . . locupletis hominis bona sine testamento possiderat*, Cic. de Orat. ii. 70.

IV. 1. *Igitur*, etc., i. e. after he had enriched himself with the plunder of Numidia : see Life of Sallust. But what he wants to have understood is the trials and annoyances to which his virtue, as he had just told us, had been exposed.—*periculis* : see on ii. 2. It may however here mean *dangers*.—*habendam*. This is not

i. q. *agendam*; it simply denotes the state or condition, as *habere gratias* is different from *agere gratias*.—*bonum*, i. e. that could be well employed.—*conterere*. This verb and the simple *tero* are used in both a good and a bad sense; here in the latter, to *waste away*.—*neque vero*, etc. The punctuation here given by Kritz, and adopted by Orelli and Zumpt, § 664, is a great improvement. In all the other editions *intentum* is joined with *servilibus officiis*. By these words is meant that agriculture and hunting were, or might be, exercised by slaves. *Colendo* and *venando* are gerunds and datives.—*intentum*. This part. occurs so often in what may be considered an active sense, that we are inclined to think that it was regarded as being of the middle voice, or reflective, and therefore nearly i. q. *intendens*; or it was a passive part. used as a deponent, like *falsus*: see on x. 5. There is usually an ellipse of *animum* or *ingenium*: comp. li. 3.—2. *incepto studioque*. Many MSS., which are followed by Corte, read *incepto studio*. Kritz and others view *que* as explanatory (*even*), a sense which in our Virgil we have observed it often to have; but there seems no necessity for it in this place, as *inceptum* and *studium* are different things.—*mala*. So he calls his public career, as he wants now to appear in a good light.—*regressus*. From this it would appear that he had meditated writing history from an early period.—*carptim*, piecemeal, i. e. selecting interesting or important portions.—*perscribere*, to write fully and carefully.—*partibus rei publicæ*. An asyndeton. As he did not write till after the death of Cæsar, he probably means the parties of the younger Cæsar and M. Antonius, to whom, as a Cæsarian, he was equally acceptable.—3. *paucis*, sc. *verbis*, *lineis*, or *paginis*.—*absolvam*, sc. *narrationem*. So with Corte we would complete the ellipse. We cannot agree with those critics who seem inclined to do away with ellipses altogether.

V. 1. *Genere*, i. q. *gente* (see Liv. ii. 45, 46; Cic. Cœl. 5), sc. *Sergiorum*. The Sergii were an ancient patrician *gens*; for Virgil (*Æn.* v. 121) makes their Eponymus to have been Sergestus, one of the companions of Æneas. Like other *gentes*, they were divided into families, of which they had three, Fidenas, Plancus, Silus. There were several quæstors and some prætors of this *gens*; but it appears only in one instance in the consulate, namely, L. Fidenas, in A. U. 315 and 323, who was also censor, and who, as well as his sons M. and L., was more than once among the military tribunes *cons. potest.*: see Hist. of Rome, p. 108. The Catilina was apparently only a branch of the Silus

family. M. Silus, the *proavus* of L. Catilina, distinguished himself by his valour in the second Punic war (see Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. 28) and was prætor in 555? His son, M. Silus, was quæstor in 604. His son, the father of L. Catilina, seems to have attained to no office, and to have been very poor: see Q. Cicero de Pet. Cons. 2, who says of his son that he was *natus in patris egestate, educatus in sororis stupris, corroboratus in cæde civium; cujus primus ad rempublicam aditus in equitibus Romanis occidendis fuit*. For Sulla, whose party he had joined, had given him the command of some Gallic horsemen, who were to execute his ruthless orders. On this occasion he murdered his own brother-in-law, Q. Cæcilius, and the prætor, M. Marius, with circumstances of great barbarity: Q. Cic. *ut sup.* Hist. of Rome, p. 351. It would appear that he was quæstor in 674, after which he was a legate in one of the provinces, where he distinguished himself by taking a town whose name is unknown, Fr. Hist. i. 26. He appears to have been one of the prætors in 685, for in 686 he governed the province of Africa as proprætor. In the following year he was prosecuted for extortion there (*rer. repetund.*) by the infamous P. Clodius, then a youth. He was, however, acquitted, for he bribed the prosecutor to *prevaricate*, i. e. betray the cause (de Har. Resp. 20), and also the jury to a great extent, for as Q. Cicero says, *tam egens ex eo judicio discessit, quam quidam judices ejus ante illud judicium fecerunt*. This, we may observe, was at the time when the jurors were only of the senatorian order: see Hist. of Rome, p. 361. He was defended by L. Torquatus, one of the consuls, and Cicero, to his discredit, had also some thoughts of doing the same: *ib.* p. 460. Next year (687) he stood for the consulate against Cicero. The rest of his history is told by Sallust.

Pravo. The original meaning of *pravus* is *crooked, distorted*, the opposite of *rectus*. Both terms are used figuratively of the mind; we ourselves speak of a *crooked* temper.—2. *Huic*, etc. Alluding to his conduct in the time of Sulla.—*ibi*, i. e. *in his*, a usual employment of adverbs of place.—4. *cujus rei lubet*. This is not a tmesis; for *cujus* and *lubet* are distinct words.—*simulator ac dissimulator*, sc. *ille erat*. The first means assuming another character, the second concealing one's own; but they are in effect the same, for one cannot be done without the other. Sallust, however, joins them in his usual manner: see Excursus I. 9.—*alieni appetens*, i. e. *avarus*.—*satis* (i. e. *multum*: comp. viii. 2), sc. *habebat*.—*eloquentiæ*. Corte follows some MSS. which read *lo-*

quentiæ, a reading proposed by a critic mentioned by Gellius, i. 15.—5. *Vastus*, huge. This word is hardly ever used of any but material objects, as *corpus*, etc.—*incredibilia*, beyond belief, extraordinary.—*nimis*, i. q. *valde*.—6. *rei publicæ capiundæ*, i. e. of possessing himself of the supreme power in the state (the *tyranny*, as the Greeks would call it), like Sulla. He presently names it *regnum*, for which word see on Jug. v. 6. Cicero (Phil. v. 7) terms Cinna, Sulla, and Cæsar *qui regnum occupare voluerunt*. *Capio* may be used in either a good or a bad sense. It is used in the latter here, as by Cicero (of money), Verr. ii. 10; iii. 30, 40; Fin. v. 25.—*quidquam pensi*, i. e. any consideration. *Pensus*, weighed, is a part., and it is used thus in the gen. like other participles and adjectives. *Nihil pensi neque moderati habere*, xii. 2. *Nihil pensi neque sancti habere*, Jug. xli. 9: so *magni facere, habere*, etc.—7. *inopia*, etc., i. e. poverty.—*his artibus*, sc. *malis*: see iii. 3.—*quas*, etc.: see § 4.—8. *civitatis*, of the state, as composed of *cives*, of whom *civitas* is the complex, the body.—*quos*, i. e. *cives*, included in *civitatis*, as Corte rightly understands it; for *verabant* could not well be used of *mores*. Gerlach and Kritz say, however, that it is, but they are unable to give any similar instance.—9. *Res*, the subject, the matter in hand.—*tempus*, i. e. *ocasio*.—*supra repelere*, sc. *eam*, i. e. *rem*, to trace it back.—*habuerint*, i. e. *gesserint, curaverint*.—*ut*, how, i. q. *quomodo*. Horace, as Allen observes, unites *ut* in the same way with *quo pacto*, Sat. i. 8, 40 seq.; Ep. ii. 1, 171, seq.—*disserere*, to treat of, explain. *Quæ Socrates . . . de immortalitate animorum disseruisset*, Cic. de Sen. 21.

VI. 1. *Urbem*, etc. Nothing can be more inartificial than this digression in this place, and nothing shows more clearly the hand of the unpractised writer. Its proper place would have been after the introduction, and after he had intimated his intention of relating Catilina's conspiracy.—*accepi*, sc. *a gnaris harum rerum*, not as Herzog and Kritz say, *sicut viri prisc. rer. gnari . . . consulenti mihi tradiderunt*; for his authority, as Servius (*Æn.* i. 6) expressly tells us, was Cato's Origines.—*habuere*, i. q. *habitavere*. We have frequently observed that the old writers, whom Sallust so loves to follow, were in the habit of using the original verb and its freq. as synonymous. *Habeo*, sc. *se*, or *ædes*, etc., therefore had the signification which was afterwards restricted to *habito*. *Hujus qui nunc hic habet*, sc. *se*, i. e. *habitat*, Plaut. Aul. pr. 5. *Meretrix quæ hic habet*, Id. Truc. i. 1, 58. *Ubi nunc adulescens habet?* Id. Trin. i. 2, 156. *Hæc sunt ædes; hic habet*, Id. ib. ii. 2, 113. *Nostras quæ modo erga ædes habet*, Id. Truc.

ii. 5, 55. In this last instance there can be no doubt of the simple *habet* being i. q. *habitat*. So when Livy says (i. 57), *Ardeam Rutuli habebant*, his meaning must be that Ardea was inhabited, not merely held by the Rutulians. Allen also quotes another very apposite place from Liv. xxxii. 14 : comp. Jug. xvii. 7 ; xviii. 1. In this sense *habeo* answers to the Greek *ἔχω*, and every one must be aware of the constant recurrence of *οἱ δ' ἔχον*, and similar expressions in the Homeric catalogue. We ourselves use our verb *to keep* in a similar way.—*sedibus incertis*. An abl. absol.—*Aborigines, αὐτόχθονες*, the original inhabitants. The want of a Latin article is felt here as elsewhere. We regard the derivation *ab origine* as unexceptional.—*liberum*, etc., sc. *legibus et imperio*. He thus repeats the idea, by way of giving it force. We may remark, that he represents the original people of Italy, at least of Latium, as being in the savage state, contrary to the tradition followed by Virgil, Livy, and others. Cato evidently did the same, for he says that the Latins were formed out of the union of them with the Phrygians.—2. *una mænia*. The plural of *unus* is used with words that only occur in the plural (*pluralia tantum*), as *mænia*, *castra*, *nuptiæ*, *litteræ*, *scalæ*, or where several are joined as one in a plural : *Ubi, qui uni legatos miserant*, Cæs. B. G. iv. 16 : see Zumpt, § 115.—3. *res*, sc. *publica*. *Res Romana, Latina, Albana*, etc., occur with the same evident ellipse.—*satis*, i. e. *bene, valde*, by litotes.—*habentur*, i. q. *se habent*, are : see on ii. 3.—*invidia*, sc. *aliorum*.—*opulentia*, sc. *eorum*, their power, strength, arising from the *abundantia opum*, i. e. *civium, morum, agrorum*. This is the usual sense of this word, and of *opes* in Sallust.—4. *temptare*, attacked, assailed, lit. made trial of. This description of the early days of Rome is not at all in accordance with the ordinary history.—*pauci*, etc. From Livy it would appear that they never had any allies.—*aberant*, were (i. e. kept) away. *Ut mirari . . . desinat me, qui, Antonio abfuerim, Sullam defendere*, Cic. Sull. 5.—5. *intenti*, sc. *negotii* ; see on ii. 9.—*parare*, sc. *arma*, etc.—*parentes*. Gerlach renders this *subiectos*, referring to Jug. iii. 2, and cii. 7, where it plainly has that sense. But nothing is more common with Sallust than to use the same word in different senses : see Excursus I. 10. We take it, therefore, here, with Kritz and others, as *parents* : comp. cap. lii. 3 ; Jug. lxxxvii. 2.—*tegere*, i. q. *protegere*.—*portabant*, i. e. *ferebant*. *Di boni boni quid porto*, Ter. And. ii. 2, 1. *Lætum nuntium portabant*, Liv. xlv. 1. Cicero never uses *porto* in this sense. It is not impossible that, as is said, *porto* may be a freq.

of *fero*.—6. *legitimum*, constitutional, framed according to laws.—*nomen*, etc., i. e. it was regal.—*habebant*. This verb governs both *imperium* and *nomen*. The latter would be better with *erat* for its verb.—*delecti*, sc. *homines*. *Delecti* is evidently stronger than *lecti*, or *electi*.—*ætate*, etc., i. e. *propter ætatem*, etc. The abl. is causal.—*patres*: see Hist. of Rome, p. 45.—7. *conser-vandæ*, etc. This is a causal genitive, as it is called, and Kritz labours hard to show that there is no ellipse (see also Zumpt, § 662). But every one of his numerous examples can be completed most satisfactorily by supposing an ellipse of *causa*, or *gratia*, which, in our opinion, is a strong presumption in its favour. Here the word seems to be *causa* or *modus*, a mean.—*convortit*, sc. *se*, which is constantly omitted with *verto* and its compounds.—*more*, sc. *imperandi*.—*annua*, etc. The consular form of government.—*imperatores*, i. e. *consules*. They were *imperatores*, as the *imperium* or command of the troops was conferred on them. The word, however, was in general used only in a military sense.—*eo modo*, sc. *imperii*.

VII. 1. *Sed*, δέ, now. It is quite plain that there is no opposition.—*extollere*, i. e. *erigere*.—*in promptu habere*, i. e. *promere*, *expromere*. The word *promptus* only occurs in this connexion, or with *esse*: see on Jug. cxi. 1. It is used by Plautus and by Cicero.—2. *regibus*, sc. *malis*, i. e. *tyrannis*. Φθονέει γὰρ (ὁ τύραννος) τοῖσι ἀρίστοισι περιέουσι τε καὶ ζῶουσι, χαίρει δὲ τοῖσι κακίοις τῶν ἀσπῶν. Herod. iii. 80.—*aliena*, i. e. *alius*.—3. *Sed*, etc. This is contrary to the fact; for it took Rome two centuries to recover what she had possessed under the kings: see Hist. of Rome, p. 55. The truth is, as we have had abundant experience, a revolution, be it good or bad, must always be paid for. And the price is often a heavy one.—*adepta*. This is one of the many instances of a dep. verb being used as a passive: see Gell. xv. 13, Prisc. viii. 4, 15 Krehl, Zumpt, § 632. It is usually only the part. that is thus used, but we meet in Plautus (Trin. ii. 288), *Non ætate verum ingenio adipiscitur sapientia*.—*incesserat*, sc. *cives*: comp. ii. 5.—4. *Jam primum*, i. e. *ut hinc exordiar*: comp. Tac. Ann. iv. 6.—*belli patiens*, i. e. able to bear the toils of war, of the military age. Some MSS., which Corte follows, read *laboris ac belli*.—*per laborem usu*, i. e. by experience or practice in a course of military toil. Sallust's object is, as usual, to give force to his sentiments by accumulation. Kritz reads *per laboris usum*; Corte *per usum*.—*habebant*, sc. *juvenes*, the preceding *juventus*.—*lubidinem*, i. e. *voluptatem* used in a good sense, like the verb.—5. *labos*.

Sallust, Servius says (*Æn.* i. 253), always used this form of the word. Cicero always has *honor*.—6. *virtus* (sc. *nam*), their vigour of mind.—*domuerat* (sc. *jam pridem*) had conquered, i. e. made easy. We, however, rather suppose that Sallust, like the poets, uses the enallage of the pluperf. for perf.—*sic se*. Corte *sese*: see Excurs. I. 15. The *se* belongs properly only to *conspici*.—*ea*, not *ea*, as some MSS. read. For this construction see Zumpt, § 372, and the copious collection of examples given by Allen in his note on this place. We were, at one time, of opinion that there was an ellipse in such cases, but the principle of attraction seems now to give a more satisfactory solution.—*honestas*, honourable, i. e. moderate. *Honestus* is καλός, handsome, physically or morally.—7. *Memorare possem*, sc. *igitur*.—*quibus*, etc. History, however, is silent as to these battles: comp. liii. 3.

VIII. 1. *Profecto*, i. e. *pro facto*, sc. *est*, doubtless, it is clear.—*lubidine*, caprice; in rather a bad sense.—*quam*, i. e. *magis quam*, which is the reading of most MSS.; but comp. ix. 5; xlviii. 5; lii. 3; Jug. xxxi. 20. This ellipse is imitated from the Greeks, who thus used to omit μάλλον, as, ἐμοὶ πικρὸς τίθνηκεν, ἢ κείνοις γλυκύς, Soph. Ajax 966. Sallust would appear to be the first Latin writer who used this ellipse. He has been followed by Livy and Tacitus: see Liv. iii. 40. 68; xxiii. 43; xxv. 29; xxviii. 44; Tac. Ann. i. 58; iii. 17. 32; iv. 61.—*vero*, the real truth. Or, it may be, justice, as *verus* is often i. q. *æquus*. *Er* is i. q. *secundum*.—2. *satis*: see on ii. 1.—3. *ibi*, i. e. *Athenis*, included in *Atheniensium*, by synesis.—*magna ingenia*. He has chiefly Thucydides in view.—5. *copia*, sc. *scriptorum*. *Copia* is not here *abundance*; but rather, command of, supply of; or *ea copia* may be, that advantage.—*prudentissimus*. *Prudens* (i. e. *providens*) is used of mental power and knowledge. *Quis P. Octavio ingenio prudentior?* Cic. Cluent. 38. *Habebat magnam prudentiam, tum juris civilis, tum rei militaris*, Nep. Cim. 2.—*negotiosus*, full of occupation, busily employed, sc. in public affairs.—*ingenium*, etc. This is a weak defence of the Romans; for both Thucydides and Xenophon, for instance, were men of action as well as writers.

IX. 1. *Igitur*, etc. What follows is, like the Germania of Tacitus and such pieces, rather a Utopian dream and a satire on the writer's own times, than the exact truth. Even from the partial pages of Livy we may see that the old Romans were not quite so perfect as Sallust makes them.—*Igitur*, i. e. to proceed then; for the inference is from ch. vii., the intermediate chapter being a digression. He more than once uses this construction: comp.

Jug. xlix. 1; lxiv. 1; lxxiii. 1; lxxxi. 1; xevi. 1; ci. 1; cix. 1.—*bonum*. This seems to be what we call *equity*, as opposed to the strict *jus*.—*valebat*. Sing. by attraction.—2. *suppliciiis*, worship. Salust uses this word in its old and original sense. It first signified prayer, then sacrifice, and, finally, punishment, just as *mactō* varied its meaning. *Nullam profecto accessi ad aram quin deos suppliciiis, sumptu, votis, donis . . . defatigem*. Afran. ap. Non. v. Supplicium. *Nunc pergam ut suppliciiis placans Cælitum aras expleam*. Accius ap. eund. *Quos boves . . . ad victimas faciunt atque ad deorum servant supplicia*. Varr. R. R. ii. 5.—*magnifici*. This word does not answer exactly to our *magnificent*. In the one the idea of greatness, in the other that of splendour predominates.—*in amicis*. Many MSS. read *in amicos*, which the old editions and Orelli follow. The meaning is nearly or altogether the same: see Kritz *in loc.*—3. *ubi pax*, etc., i. e. *in pace*. He uses it to vary the phrase.—*seque*, etc. As *se* evidently means their private affairs, we do not, with Gerlach, see a zeugma in *curabant*.—4. *documenta*, proofs.—*habeo*, I look on, regard as.—*in eos*, etc. Alluding to the cases of Postumius (Hist. of Rom. p. 108) and Manlius (ib. p. 188).—*quique tardius*, etc. We do not recollect any instance of this.—*bello*, i. e. *prælio*: see on Virg. Geor. ii. 279.—5. *in pace*, sc. *cum aliquo populo*: for the Romans were never at universal peace.—*quam*. The old editions followed the MSS. that read *magis quam*.—*agitabant*, i. e. *agebant*.—*ignoscere*, etc., sc. *eam*. He had the case of the Rhodians (li. 5) and others in view.

X. 1. *Labore*, etc. *labore* (sc. *in bello*), *justitia* (sc. *in pace*): see ix. 3.—*reges*, etc. These three names are joined in like manner by Cicero (Off. ii. 8). *Regum, populorum, nationum portus erat senatus*. By *reges* is meant Perseus and Antiochus; by *nationes* probably the Gauls and Spaniards, as he terms them *feræ*; by *populi* republics, as Greece and Carthage.—*domiti . . . subacti*, sc. *sunt*.—*ab stirpe*, i. e. *radicitus, funditus*. *Apes cum stirpe necatas*. Ov. Fast. i. 363. The *stirps* is the upper part of the root, and lower part of the trunk of a tree.—*patebant*, were open, i. e. become accessible. He uses the imperf. as it was a continued state. 'Ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ γῆν ἰσβατὸν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ τόλμῃ καταναγκάσαντες γενέσθαι, Thuc. ii. 41.—*ævire*, etc., sc. *tum*.—*miscere*, to throw into confusion. *Magno misceri murmure pontum*, Virg. Æn. i. 124. *Qua victoria elatus plurima miscere cæpit*, Nep. Paus. 1.—2. *optandæ aliis*, i. e. objects of desire to others; perhaps sc. *omnibus*. Kritz, following a various

reading of one MS., reads *alias*, i. e. at other times, under other circumstances.—3. *pecuniæ*, sc. *cupido*.—*ea quasi*, etc. 'Πῖζα γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἴστιν ἡ φιλαργυρία, 1 Tim. vi. 10.—4. *subvortit*. This and the following verbs are perfs. used in imitation of the Greek aorist.—*deos neglegere*, i. e. *negligentiam deorum*, to vary the phrase in his usual manner.—*venalia habere*, i. e. to be ready to sell, to have on sale: comp. xiii. 3.—5. *falsos*, i. e. *fallentes*, false, deceiving. *Fallor* seems to be used as a deponent whose part. past can be used for the part. pres. *Quom censeas esse amicos reperiuntur falsi*, Plaut. Bac. iii. 6, 11. *Solem quis dicere falsum audeat?* Virg. Geor. i. 463. *Quanto quis illustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinantes*, Tac. Ann. i. 7.—*ex re*, sc. *vera*, according to truth and reality.—6. *vindicari*, be punished. He alludes to the laws *de ambitu* and *de rebus repetundis*.—*contagio*, the disease, which was, as it were, given by contact.—*civitas immutata*, sc. *est*, i. e. the character of the whole Roman people was changed.—*imperium*, etc. By this he would seem to mean the government of the provinces.

XI. 1. *Sed primo*, etc. He had just said (x. 3) that avarice was the first.—*exercebat*, worked, i. e. engaged: comp. Virg. Geor. ii. 415; Æn. i. 435; Hor. Ep. i. 11, 28.—*quod tamen vitium*, which, though a vice; or, rather, which vice however.—*propius virtutem*, as *propius mare Africum*, Jug. xviii. 9; *proxime Hispaniam*, Ib. xix. 4.—2. *contendit*, sc. *ibi pervenire*, which is also understood with *nititur*; for the whole is figurative.—3. *habet*, i. e. *in se continet*.—*quam*, etc. How well all this comes from the pillager of Numidia!—*venenis malis imbuta*. The allusion is to the tales of mythology.—*infinita*, boundless: see on i. 4.—4. *recepta*. This may be either, as it frequently is, merely intensive of *capta*; see Hor. Excurs. IV.; or mean that he recovered the state from the hands of Marius and Cinna.—*bonis initiis*, with a good beginning. Kritz says it is an abl. abs.—*malos*, etc. *In illo secuta est honestam causam non honesta victoria*, Cic. Off. ii. 8. Sulla at first appeared only as the restorer of the constitution, but the proscription soon followed: see Hist. of Rome, p. 358.—*rapere*, etc., i. e. in the proscription.—*domum*, sc. *Romæ*.—5. *Huc*, etc. The evil was aggravated by the taste which they had acquired for luxury in Asia, which made them the more rapacious.—*ductaverat*, i. q. *duxerat*, i. e. he had commanded. He means his Asiatic army. We have already noticed Sallust's fondness for using the freq. verb. He always uses *ducto*, in which he is almost peculiar. It does not occur in Cicero,

Cæsar, or Nepos.—*habuerat*, i. e. *tractarat*.—*Loca amœna*, sc. *illa*, i. e. *Asiæ*.—*ferocis*, grim, stern; in a good sense.—6. *exercitus*. By this can only be meant the officers.—*amare*, sc. *scorta*. *Amo* is almost always used in this sense: see on Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 250.—*potare*, to drink, i. e. to revel: see on Hor. Sat. ii. 8, 3.—*signa*, statues.—*tabulas pictas*, pictures; for the ancients almost always painted on wood.—*cælata*, embossed.—*privatim et publice*, i. e. from private houses and public places alike. He had such cases as that of Verres probably in view. In his usual way he ascribes too much to one time and one person; for Sulla did not pass over to Asia till A. U. 668, and he was at Rome in the following year. But the Roman troops had now been in Asia upwards of forty years.—7. *nihil reliqui fecere* (i. e. *nihil reliquerunt*) sc. *esse*. In French, *ils ne laissèrent point de reste*.—*victis*, the conquered party, i. e. the Marians.—8. *sapientium*, sc. *etiam*.—*ne*, i. e. *nedum*, which last is the reading of several MSS. and of Priscian, and is adopted by Kritz. Of the use of *ne* in this sense there are many examples: see Plaut. Amph. i. 1, 174; Cas. v. 4, 23; Ter. Andr. iv. 2, 23; Cic. ad Fam. ix. 26; Liv. iii. 52.—*corruptis moribus*. An abl. qualifying *illi*; not absolute, as Gerlach makes it.—*victoriæ*. A dat.—*temperare*, use with moderation.

XII. 1. *Innocentia*, i. e. *abstinentia*, sc. *a lucro*. *Cum innocente abstinentia certabat*, liv. 5: comp. Jug. xlv. 1; lxxxv. 18. *Ac primum quanta innocentia debent esse imperatores*, Cic. pro Leg. Man. 13. Gerlach takes it in the general sense of innocence, purity of life and conduct. But it is of money that Sallust is speaking.—*malivolentia*, sc. *in alios*. For almost all followed the opposite course.—*ex*. This prep. here expresses the cause and origin; for the three following vices are the offspring of riches.—2. *avaritia* (see on iii. 3.) is the desire for wealth, and not our avarice.—*parvi*, sc. *pretii*.—*pudorem, pudicitiam*. The first of these words relates to the mind; comp. iii. 3: the second to the person; comp. xiv. 7. *Ex hac parte pudor pugnat illinc petulantia; hinc pudicitia illinc stuprum*, Cic. Cat. ii. 11. These substantives are qualified by the following *promiscua*, i. q. *sine discrimine*.—*nihil pensi*: see on v. 6.—3. *Operæ pretium est*. There is a price for the work, i. e. it is worth while. This phrase occurs in the well-known verses of Ennius which Horace parodied (Sat. i. 2, 37). It is frequently used by Plautus and by Cicero.—*domos*, sc. *in urbe*; *palazzi*, mansions.—*visere* (to visit), sc. *et videre quam parva sint*.—4. *Verum*, but in truth. This is the true meaning of this term, which

was such a favourite with Cicero in his early speeches.—*victis*, sc. *hostibus*.—*licentiam*, i. e. the power of doing at one's will: comp. Jug. ciii. 3. *Qui . . . obtinere se non posse putaverunt licentiam cupiditatum suarum*, Cic. ad Att. x. 4.—5. *sociis*, οἱ ὑπήκοοι, the subjects. This word was first used in its proper sense of those Italian peoples who were in alliance with Rome, and it then gradually came to signify those who were under her dominion.—*adimere*, sc. *audent*.—*fortissimi*, sc. *virī*. The original and proper meaning of *fortis* was ἰσθλός, good, excellent, and it denoted the possession of any good quality in an eminent degree. It was, therefore, i. q. *honestus* in both of its senses. *Ecquid fortis visa est?* i. e. *formosa*, Plaut. Mil. iv. 314. *Cavit ne unquam infamiae ea res sibi esset, ut virum fortem decet*, i. e. *honestum*, Ter. Andr. ii. 6, 13. *Sororem despondisse suam in tam fortem familiam*, i. e. *honestam* vel *locupletem*, Plaut. Trin. v. 2, 9. *Formosa virgo est . . . Præterea fortis*, i. e. *dives*, Afran. ap. Non. v. *Fortis*. So *Fors* *Fortuna* is *Fortis* *fortuna*, good fortune, and *fors* came to be used alone as we use *luck* alone: see on Ov. Fast. vi. 773.—*hostibus*, sc. *etiam*. We retain this word with Kritz; but we do not with him think that the *hostes* and *socii* are the same, but at different times.

XIII. 1. *Subvorsos*, levelled. He has chiefly Lucullus in view, of whom is said *exciso etiam monte . . . Euripum et maria admisit*, Plin. N. H. ix. 54; *posteaquam perfodisset montem ac maritima flumina immisisset in piscinas*, Varr. R. R. iii. 17.—*maria*, i. e. *piscinæ*. *Maritimæ piscinæ ædificantur magno*, Varr. *ut sup.*—2. *honeste*, καλῶς, honourably.—*habere*, i. e. *tractare*: comp. xi. 5; xiv. 7.—3. *ganeæ*, of eating and drinking. *Ganeæ* is properly “locus comessationibus et libidine constitutus.”—*cultus*, sc. *malī*. This word, which signifies mode of living, is here taken in a bad sense.—*dormire*, etc. By this he probably means taking the *siesta* or mid-day sleep.—*non famem*, etc. The meaning of what follows is, that they acted contrary to nature in every thing. They slept without being sleepy, they ate without being hungry, or they produced an artificial appetite by emetics, drank without thirst, or used provocatives (see Hor. Sat. ii. 4, 58 seq.); without waiting for the cool season of nature they made porticoes, etc., facing the north, to walk and exercise in, and, instead of the fatigue produced by really manly exercises, they caused a slight effeminate kind: see Hor. Sat. ii. 2, 10 seq.—4. *animus*, sc. *nam*.—*lubidinibus carebat*. *Carere* here is i. q. *vacare*, *liberum esse a*.

Mulier quæ careat culpa, Ter. Hec. iv. 4, 41. *Abest a culpa, suspicione tamen non caret*, Cic. Rosc. Amer. 20.

XIV. 1. *Tanta*, so large, so great, so numerous.—*tamque*. Kritz, following a few MSS., reads *itaque*, i. e. *et ita*.—*factu*. This is what is called the second supine; but it is in reality the abl. of a verbal subst. of the fourth declension, *in doing*, i. e. *to be done*.—*flagitiorum*, etc., i. e. *flagitiosorum*, etc., by that principle of the Latin language by which acts are put for their subjects or objects: see Virgil, Excursus VII.—*stipatorum*. *Latrones dicti a latere qui circum latera erant regi, quos postea a stipatione stipatores appellarunt*, Varr. L. L. vii. 52.—2. *ganeo*, hunter of a *ganea* (see on xiii. 3), tavern-hunter, properly -haunter.—*manu*, i. e. by gambling, as the dice were thrown by the hand. It is an affected expression adopted for the sake of uniformity. It may be observed that the three ablatives do not correspond with the preceding nominatives.—*alienum æs*. The ordinary Latin expression for debt, lit. other people's money.—*conflaverant*. The original meaning of this verb is to blow into a flame, as *puer ignem conflans*, Plin. xxxvii. 11. Hence it came to signify, to melt, as *argenteas statuas olim sibi positas conflavit*, Suet. Oct. 52; thence to make, to form, to compose, as *conflare pecuniam*, Cic. Sext. 30. *Quibus ex rebus conflatur et efficitur . . . honestum*, Id. Off. i. 4. *Magnum exercitum conflaverat*, Vell. Pat. ii. 74.—*redimeret*, buy off, sc. the punishment. *Pecunia se palmam a iudicibus redimerat*, Cic. Mil. 32.—3. *parricidæ*. The original sense of this word was parent-slayer. It then came to signify murderer in general, and then villain, etc.: comp. xxxi. 8.—*sanguine civili*, i. e. by assassination, as opposed to war: see Jug. xxxv. 5.—*consciis*, sc. *sceleris*.—*proximi*, intimates: comp. Jug. xxxv. 4; lxxx. 3.—4. *etiam*, as yet.—*inciderat*, sc. *aliquo casu*.—5. *molles*, i. e. *mobiles*: see on Virg. Geor. ii. 389.—*fluri*: see on i. 4.—6. *ex*, arising from: see on xii. 2.—*modestiæ*. Σωφροσύνην, *soleo equidem tum temperantiam, tum moderationem appellare, tum etiam modestiam*, Cic. Tusc. iii. 5. *Pudor* is our, modesty. *Modestia*, in this place, seems to answer to our *character*.—*obnoxios*, i. e. in his power, sc. by their consciousness of guilt. *Obnoxius, pœnæ obligatus ob delictum*, Fest. s. v.

XV. 1. *Jam primum*: see on vii. 4.—*Catilina*, sc. *ipse*.—*cum virgine nobili*. Who this was is unknown. Cicero (in Tog. Cand.) says to Catilina, *ex eodem stupro tibi et uxorem et filiam invenisti*; on which Asconius observes, *Dicitur Catilina adulterium commi-*

sisse cum ea, quæ ei postea socrus fuit, et ex stupro durisse uxorem cum filia ejus esset.—*cum sacerdote Vestæ.* Cicero seems to allude to this also (*ut sup.*): *Cum ila viristi, ut non esset locus tam sanctus, quo non adventus tuus, etiam cum culpa nulla subesset, crimen afferret.* Her name, Asconius tells us, was Fabia, and she escaped punishment as she was sister to Cicero's wife, Terentia.—2. *Aureliæ.* The Aurelian gens consisted of three families, the Cotta, the Orestes, and the Scaurus, of all which several members attained to office in the state. Of this lady nothing further is known. We find (xxxv. 3) that she had a daughter by a former husband. In 702 Cælius writing to Cicero says: *Cornificius adolescens Orestillæ filiam sibi despondit,* Cic. Fam. viii. 7. But this may be a different person.—*formam,* her personal beauty.—*bonus,* sc. *aliquis.*—*pro certo,* i. e. *certum*: comp. lii. 17.—*necato filio,* etc. According to Cicero (Cat. i. 6) he had also removed his former wife to make room for this marriage.—3. *facinoris,* sc. *hujus.*—4. *dis,* etc., ablative.—*infestus,* i. e. *infestatus*: comp. Jug. lxxxix. 5: see Virgil, Excursus IX. The idea of their knowledge of his crimes harassed and tortured him.—*vigiliis,* etc., i. e. whether he was awake or asleep. *Sedare* seems to be used here in a reflective sense.—*vastabat,* laid waste. A most forcible expression.—5. *prorsus,* like *postremo,* in short, in fine.—*facie,* his general appearance.

XVI. 1. *Multis modis.* We cannot agree with Kritz, who connects these words with *illegerat.* In that case the ear feels something to be wanting before *mala.*—2. *testes,* etc. The adj. qualifies both substantives. *Testes* are witnesses in a court of justice, *signatores,* witnesses to a will: see Suet. Tib. 23.—*commodare,* sc. *solebat,* to lend, to furnish to those who required them.—*fidem,* credit: comp. Hor. Ep. i. 6, 36.—*fortunas,* property: see on Hor. Ep. i. 5, 12.—*viliâ habere* (sc. *assuescebat*), to hold cheap, set no value on.—*famam,* their character or reputation.—*majora,* sc. *facinora.*—3. *suppetebat,* i. e. *erat.* This is a word of frequent occurrence in Cicero and Cæsar.—*circumvenire,* i. e. as *testes falsi*: comp. xxxiv. 2.—*jugulare*: see on xiv. 3.—*scilicet.* This is said with some degree of irony.—*ne,* i. e. *ut non.*—*manus,* nom. pl.—*potius,* sc. *quam hoc sineret evenire.*—*gratuito, gratis,* having nothing to gain by it.—4. *simul,* sc. *sciens.* By zeugma.—*per omnis terras,* i. e. in both Italy and the provinces.—*plerique,* etc. Of these men Cicero says (Cat. ii. 9): *in tantum cæs alienum inciderunt, ut si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit eis ab inferis excitandus.*—*opprimundæ,* i. q. *capiundæ,* v. 6.—5. *In Italia,* etc., sc.

erat.—*in extremis terris*, at the end of the world, i. e. in Pontus and Armenia, where he was carrying on the war against Mithridates.—*petenti*, i. e. *qui petebat*; not, as Kritz says, *si peteret*.—*nihil*, sc. *ad*; not i. q. *non*.—*intentus*, i. q. *intendens*: see on iv. 1.—*sed*, *δέ*, now.—*ea*, sc. *omnia*.—*prorsus*, altogether, in short.

XVII. 1. *Circiter*, etc., i. e. A. U. 688.—*L. Cæsar*, son of the consul in the Social War, and maternal uncle of M. Antonius the triumvir.—*C. Figulo*, sc. *Marcio*.—*appellare*, address: see on xx. 1.—*temptare*, to sound. It is generally used in a bad sense.—2. *Ubi satis*, etc., i. e. when he had, as we say, felt the pulse of every one; when he knew how they felt and thought, on whom he could rely, etc.—*in unum*, sc. *locum*. It is thus that Corte, we think rightly, supplies the ellipse. Kritz, following the new fashion of rejecting ellipses, maintains that *unum* is neuter, but in all the examples which he gives we may supply *locum*.—*necessitudo*, i. q. *necessitas*. Sallust followed the old writers in using the word in this sense: see Charis, p. 76. *In libris veterum vulgo reperias necessitudinem dici pro eo quod necesse est*, Gell. xv. 3.—3. *P. Lentulus*, sc. *Cornelius*. He had been one of the quæstors in the time of Sulla, and made away with the public money to a great extent, Plut. Cic. 17. He was consul in 681, but in the following year he was put out of the senate by the censors on account of the irregularity of his life. Plut. *ut sup.* Dion xxxvii. 30. In order to be enabled to re-enter the senate he stood for the prætorship this year, and succeeded, xlv. 5. Cicero (Cat. iii. 7; Brut. 66) describes him as being a dull heavy man, of a handsome person, with a powerful and agreeable voice, and graceful action.—*P. Autronius*, sc. *Pætus*. He was elected consul with P. Sulla in 686, but they were both condemned *de ambitu*, and Aurelius Cotta and Manlius Torquatus appointed in their stead, Cic. Sull. 1. By means of a rabble of gladiators and runaway slaves he attempted to prevent the trial from going on, Id. ib. 5. In that speech Cicero describes him as a man of most infamous character, who would stop at no act of violence or villany.—*L. Cassius*. One of the candidates for the consulate this year, a fat heavy man (Cic. Cat. iii. 7), but, as we shall see, he claimed the task of setting fire to the city.—*C. Cethegus*, sc. *Cornelius*. He was in Spain (probably in the army) during the Sertorian war, and while there he attempted the life of Metellus Pius, Cic. Sull. 25. All agree in describing him as a man of furious passions and of great energy.—*P. et Ser. Sullæ*, sc. *Cornelii*, the sons of Ser. Sulla, the

brother of the Dictator. Cicero, in his speech for P. Sulla, denies that he was engaged in Catilina's conspiracy, but he was there probably only acting as an advocate and not speaking his real sentiments. Elsewhere (Off. ii. 8) he tells us that this Sulla used to preside in his uncle's time at the sale of the property of the proscribed.—*L. Vargunteius*. He had been defended by Hortensius in a trial *de ambitu*, Cic. Sull. 2, and he was engaged in Catilina's former conspiracy, Id. ib. 24. Of the remaining four senators little is known. Bestia (Calpurnius) is supposed to have been a son of the consul of that name in the Jugurthine war. Nothing is known of the previous lives of the four knights.—4. *domi nobiles*, i. e. men of importance at home, in their own country, though of little consequence at Rome.—5. *Erant*, etc. This often is, or is suspected to be, the case in extensive conspiracies of this kind. In the Irish rebellion of 1798, some of the leading Whig families were accused by the extreme loyalists of being secretly engaged in it. The present annotator well remembers, when a mere boy at school, in Ireland, not many years after that event, how his old master would remark on this place of Sallust: Aye, just like the P's (naming a Whig family of rank in the vicinity) and others in the Rebellion.—6. *quibus*. As *juventus* is a collective.—*in otio . . . vivere*. Instead of, with Corte, Gerlach, and others, supposing *vivere* to be i. q. *vivendi*, we take these words as a nom. corresponding to *copia*. It is something like our familiar language *corn is plenty*, etc.: see Zumpt, § 598.—*in otio*, *ἐν ᾠσυχίᾳ*, i. e. *in pace*.—*incerta*, etc., sc. *volebant*, included in the following *malebant*.—7. *tempestate*, i. q. *tempore*. One of his usual Archaisms: see on Virg. Georg. i. 27.—*Crassum*. The celebrated colleague of Cæsar and Pompeius: see Hist. of Rome.—*ductabat*, was at the head of, xi. 5.—*opes*, i. q. *potentia*: see on vi. 3.—*illos*, sc. *conjuratos*, included in *conjuratio*.

XVIII. 1. *Item*, i. q. *etiam*: see xxvii. 2.—*conjuravere*. This seems to be an enallage of the perf. for the pluperf. after the manner of the poets.—2. *L. Tullo*, etc., i. e. L. Volcatio Tullo, M. Emilio Lepido in 686: see on xvii. 3.—*legibus ambitus*, i. e. the Calpurnian passed in 685, which was very severe.—*interrogati*, i. e. *accusati*, because the prætor used to ask the person charged if he was guilty.—3. *Post paullo*. It was before the new elections in the same year: see on v. 1.—*prohibitus erat*, sc. *senatu et legibus*,—*legitimos dies*, i. e. three nundines before the Comitia Maxima: see Macrob. Sat. i. 16.—*profiteri*, sc. *nomen*, to give in his name

as a candidate, which no one could do who had an accusation hanging over him, and his cause did not come on till the following year.—4. *Cn. Piso*, sc. *Calpurnius*. Nothing is known of his previous history.—5. *Cum hoc*, etc. We have seen (see on xvii. 3) that Vargunteius also was engaged in it.—*in Capitolio*, on (not *in*) the Capitol. Because the consuls when entering on their office went up the Capitol to worship: see *Ov. Fast.* i. 79, seq.—*L. Cottam*, etc. They had been appointed in place of Autronius and Sulla: see on xvii. 3.—*fasces conreptis*. It would seem from this that Catilina and Autronius intended to seize on the consulate for themselves.—*obtinendas*, i. e. *regendas*, to hold, i. e. govern. It is the correct and usual term, and therefore is not i. q. *occupandas*.—*duas Hispanias*, Ulterior and Citerior, or Bætic and Tarragonian, the two provinces into which the Romans had divided it: see *Hist. of Rome*, p. 277.—8. *Quodni*, i. e. *ob quod ni*. The senators being also to be massacred.—*maturasset*, had been in too great a hurry.—*pro*, πρό, in front of.—*Quia*, etc. As they saw that they were too few in number to make the attempt with a prospect of success. Of this whole affair, however, a very different account is given by Suetonius (Jul. 9) on the authority of a history by Tanusius Geminus, the edicts of M. Bibulus, Cæsar's colleague in the consulate, and the speeches of C. Curio. According to this, Cæsar, who was then ædile, Crassus, Autronius, and Sulla conspired to fall on and massacre a part of the senate in the beginning of the year, after which Autronius and Sulla were to be consuls, Crassus dictator, and Cæsar his master of the horse. Crassus's heart, it is added, failed him through fear or remorse, when the time came, and Cæsar therefore did not give the appointed signal, that of throwing his *toga* off his shoulder. Others said that Cæsar then conspired with Piso; Cicero, however (*in Tog. Cand.*), asserts that Catilina *Cn. Pisone socio neque alio nemine, cædem optimatum facere voluit.—ea res*, i. e. *id.*

XIX. 1. *Quæstor*, etc. i. e. though he only had the title and rank of quæstor, he had the power and authority of a prætor, i. e. proprætor. It was usual thus to give inferior magistrates the power of superior ones. Thus Cæsar left Sallust himself, who had only been prætor as proconsul in Numidia, *Bell. Afric.* 96; and Pompeius, while still a private man, was sent as proconsul to Spain, *Cic. Leg. Man.* 21.—*annitente*, sc. *ut efficeretur*.—2. *tamen*, indeed.—*ædum*. Like *honestus* and *turpis*, this word is here taken in a moral sense.—*re publica*, i. e. from taking part in the

business of the state.—*boni complures*, very many of the *boni*. By *Boni* (οἱ χρηστοί), in the writings of Cicero and Sallust, is meant those who wished to preserve the constitution in its actual form, and were opposed to change, the Conservatives as we may term them. That it was a party name is evident from Sallust's using it, for he was of the opposite party.—*præsidium*, sc. *aliquid contra Pompeium*.—*et jam tum*, sc. *nam*. Only the year before Pompeius had, in spite of the strenuous opposition of most of those who were termed the *Boni*, been appointed by the people to the command of the Mithridatic war: Hist. of Rome, p. 372. He was now, therefore, at the head of a large army in Asia.—*3. in provincia*. Many of the MSS. read *provinciam*, which reading was adopted by Corte. It is a doubtful point which is the true one: for there is no doubt that the acc. with *in* was used like the abl. with that prep., and Sallust himself has *in potestatem habuisset*, Jug. cxii. 3. The following are examples: *Ubi in lustra jacuisti?* Plaut. Cas. ii. 3, 26. *Ego illum audivi in amorem hæere*, Id. Epid. ii. 3, 7. *Nunc vero mihi in mentem fuit*, Id. Amph. i. 1, 25. *Quæ in amicitiam populi Romani dicionemque essent*, Cic. Div. in Cæs. 20. *In custodiam habitos*, Liv. xxii. 23. Kritz would get over the difficulty in this manner: *Ubi in lustra*, etc. he says is *ubi in lustra incidisti inisque jacuisti?* supposing a pretty considerable ellipse. Some have supposed that Piso was only on his way to Spain; but that was not the case: see Dion xxxvi. 27. Ascon. on Cic. in Tog. Cand.—*iter faciens*, when making a progress, as the governors always did in their provinces.—*5. Cnæi . . . clientis*. This, as Muretus observed, is a hexameter verse; but to read it as such the metric accent should be *Pômpei—clientis*, i. e. who were strongly attached to him on account of favours they had received, *Magna esse Pompei beneficia et magnas clientelas in citeriore provincia sciebat*, Cæs. B. C. ii. 18.—*voluntate ejus*. Piso was probably sent out to Spain in the early part of the year 687, and as his death was not known at Rome in the beginning of June, 688 (see xxi. 3), he had, it is likely, been more than a year away. The men of political influence, when absent in command or in government, kept up (as the letters of Cicero show) a very active correspondence with their friends at Rome, and Pompeius, though at so great a distance from home, had abundant means of communicating his wishes, with respect to Piso, to his partizans either at Rome or in Spain. We do not, how-

ever, suppose that he did so; we only wish to show how he might have done it.—*numquam*, sc. *nam*.

XX. 1. *in rem*, sc. *suam* or *communem*, of advantage.—*appellare*, to address. *Legati erant appellati superbius*, Cic. pro Leg. Man. 5.—*secedit*, sc. *cum iis*.—*hujusmodi*, to this effect. The speech is evidently, as is usual in such cases, the historian's own, such as he conceived that Catilina might have made, and not his actual words.—2. *virtus*, worth : see on i. 4.—*fides*, honour, ground of reliance.—*opportuna res*, i. e. opportunity.—*dominatio*, i. e. *regnum* : see on v. 6.—*neque*, sc. *vero*.—*per ignaviam*, i. e. *ignavos*, opposed to *virtus*.—*vana*, false, on which no reliance could be placed ; opposed to *fides*. *Ignavia* and *ingenia* are abstracts for concretes. Kritz adopts and defends Corte's conjecture, *ignava*.—3. *tempestatibus*, sc. *dubüs* or *periculosus* : see on vii. 1.—*eo*, from, or by this.—*facinus*, deeds : see on ii. 9.—*simul*, etc. because our interests are the same.—4. *ea* : see on vii. 6.—5. *Sed, ði—nisi*, i. e. *si non*.—6. *vindicamus*, etc. Alluding to the manumission of slaves, *per vindictam* : see on Hor. Sat. ii. 7, 77. It has at all times been the policy of such as Catilina and his associates to represent their condition as that of slaves.—7. *res publica*, i. e. the management and control of public affairs.—*paucorum potentium*. Owing to the want of the article in the Latin language, it is doubtful which of these words is to be taken substantively, i. e. whether *pauci* is a few or the few. We think the latter, and that *paucorum potentium* is τῶν ὀλίγων τῶν κρατούντων, the powerful oligarchs ; for the Romans appear to have rendered the ὀλίγοι and οἱ ὀλιγαρχαὶ of the Greeks by their *pauci*. This appears to be the meaning of the term in all those places of Sallust in which he speaks of the parties in the state, and such, from what follows, would seem to be its meaning here. In xxxix. 1, the *pauci* are opposed to the *plebes*, and are merely i. q. *nobiles* ; so also in lviii. 11, and in Jug. xxxi. 2, and xli. 7 : comp. Cat. xxx. 4 ; Jug. iii. 4 ; xxxi. 9, 19. In the speech of Licinius Mæcer (Fr. Hist. iii. 22) the *pauci* are i. q. *nobilitas* and *factio*. Corte struck out *potentium* here, and *nobilibus* in Jug. xxxi. 9 ; but without reason.—*jus*, etc. In this, and in what follows, we have instances of Sallust's love for employing substantives in pairs ; see Excursus I. 9.—*concessit* (intensive), has gone completely over.—*tetrarchæ*. This was the title of the princes of Gallo-Græcia in Asia, with whom the Romans had had hostile or friendly relations since A. U. 563 : see Hist. of Rome, p. 259. Sallust joins

them with *reges*, to express the sovereignty of the East. Cicero also joins these words. Mil. 28 ; Phil. xi. 12.—*populi nationes* : see on x. 1.—*omnes*, sc. *cives*.—*vulgus*, mere rabble, i. e. are so regarded by *them*.—*gratia*, sc. *populo*.—*auctoritate*, sc. *in republica*.—*obnoxii* : see on xiv. 6.—*valeret*, was in health, was as it ought to be.—8. *ubi* : see on v. 2.—*repulsas*, sc. *ab honoribus* : see on Hor. Ep. i. 1, 43.—*judicia*. On account of their debts.—9. *emori*. Intensive of *mori*.—*inhonestam*, i. e. *inhonestatam*, having none of the honours of the state : comp. Hor. Sat. i. 6, 96.—*alienæ superbie*, a dat.—10. *consenuerunt*, i. e. are weak and feeble, as this is the result of age.—*res*, sc. *ipsa*.—11. *superare*, i. e. *superesse*, be beyond what they can legitimately use.—*extruendo mari*, i. e. in building out into the sea, as at Baiæ : comp. Hor. Carm. ii. 20, 20 ; Ep. i. 1, 84.—*montibus*, etc. : see on xiii. 1. This language is better adapted, probably, to the historian's own days than to those of Catilina ; for Lucullus, who was the chief builder, had not been long returned from the East.—*domos continuare* (sc. *in urbe*), to add house to house, i. e. by building additions. *Continuo* is to join, to add one thing to another of the same kind : comp. Jug. xxxvii. 2. *Nec ante continuando obstitit magistratu*, Liv. ix. 34. *Ingens cupido agros continuendi*, Id. xxxiv. 4.—12. *toreumata*, *ροσέυματα*, embossed or chased plate.—*nova* (sc. *ædificia*), etc. : comp. Hor. Ep. i. 1, 100.—*trahunt*, etc. The figure here seems to be taken from the taming of a wild animal that is held in a cord.—13. *spes*, expectation, prospects.—14. *quin*, i. e. *qui* (*quare*) *non*.—*posuit*, i. q. *proposuit*.—17. *nisi forte*. In this there is somewhat of a sneer.

XXI. 1. *abunde erant*, i. q. *superabant*, xx. 11.—*res*, sc. *familiaris*.—*movere*, i. q. *commovere*, to throw into confusion.—*merces*, i. e. *præmium*. *Est et fideli tuta silentio Merces*, Hor. Carm. iii. 2, 25.—*proponeret*, lay before them, state.—*condicio*, the nature, state : comp. xx. 6.—*ubique*, i. e. *et ubi*.—2. *tabulas novas*, τὴν τῶν χρηστῶν ἀποκοπήν, abolition of debts. The *tabulæ* were the account-books, in which the moneyed men entered the names of their debtors and the amount of their debts. *Tabulæ novæ* was a sort of euphemism for *tabulæ nullæ* ; for it was abolition, not composition, that was meant. Originally, however, it had not been so.—*sacerdotia*, the various priesthoods, which had large incomes attached to them : see Ovid, Fast., Excursus II.—*fert*, sc. *secum*. Sing. by attraction.—3. *Præterea*, etc. Hence it appears that the account of the death of Piso had not yet reached Rome.—*P. Sittium* : see Hist. of

Rome, p. 441. Cic. Sull. 20. If Sittius was really engaged in the plot, Catilina must have arranged matters with him while he was in Africa.—*C. Antonium*. This was a son of the famous orator who was put to death by Marius (Hist. of Rome, p. 345), and uncle of the triumvir.—*familiarem*, sc. *suum*.—*cum eo*, etc., i. e. when Catilina would be consul, with Antonius for his colleague, from whom he apprehended no opposition.—4. *bonos*: see on xix. 2.—5. *petitionem*, sc. *consulatus*. This was spoken on or about the Kalends of June (xvii. 1), and the elections were usually held before the Kalends of August: see Becker, Handbuch der Antiq. II. ii. 103.—*curæ*, dat.

XXII. 1. *popularis*, i. e. *socios*: comp. xxiv. 1. *Amicus summus meus et popularis Geta*, Ter. Phorm. i. 1, 1. *Popularitas in omnis rei consortium sumitur*, Donat. in Adelph. ii. 1, 1.—*adigeret*. This, which was the conjecture of Core, has since been found in three MSS., and is undoubtedly the true reading. Most MSS. read *adiceret*, some *addiceret*.—*humani*, etc. According to Dion (xxxvii. 30) and Plutarch (Cic. 10), Catilina killed a slave, and the confederates partook of the flesh.—2. *inde*, then, not *ex quo*, as Gerlach understands it.—*execrationem*, i. e. *jus jurandum*. *Hunc Pompeius omni cautione, fœdere, execratione devinxerat*, Cic. pro Sext. 7.—*consuevit*. An aorist.—*consilium suum*, i. e. what he had done, and with what intention.—*eo*, sc. *consilio*.—*dictitare*, i. e. *ita illi dictitabant*. *Dictitare* is the hist. inf., and the nom. is *fuere*, etc., § 1.—*aliâ*, a dat.—4. *invidiam*, see on iii. 5: comp. xliii. 1.—*Nobis*, etc., i. e. I cannot assert any thing positively in an affair of such magnitude.

XXIII. 1. *Sed*, now.—*in ea conjuratione*, i. e. *inter eos conjuratos*: see on v. 9.—*natus*, etc. In ch. xvii. also he mentions him among those of the senatorian order. He was probably a patrician.—*loco*, condition, rank in society. *Si quem infimo loco natum, nullo splendore . . . defenderem*, Cic. pro Flacc. 11. *Tanaquil summo loco nata*, Liv. i. 34. In *haud obscuro* is probably a litotes.—*coopertus*, covered all over, overwhelmed: comp. Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 68.—*proabri*, i. e. *probrosæ vitæ*.—*gratia*, i. e. *causa*. This sense is frequent in the comic poets. Cicero also uses it, as in De Fin. i. 10.—*moverant*. The usual reading is *amoverant*. But this, which is found in four MSS., is the proper term in the formula.—2. *vanitas*, lightness, emptiness.—*prorsus*: comp. xv. 5.—*neque dicere*, etc., i. e. he was reckless, did not care what he said or did: see on xv. 5.—3. *muliere nobili*. She was of course married (but her husband's name is unknown), for in ancient, as

in modern, Italy, it was only the married women that intrigued.—*inopia*, i. e. *propter inopiam*. *Si fructibus et emolumentis amicos colemus, dubium est quin fundos et insulas amicis anteponamus*, Cic. Fin. ii. 26.—*maria*, etc. A proverbial expression. *Modo non montes auri pollicens*, Ter. Phorm. i. 2, 18. *Argentii montes non massas habet*, Plaut. Mil. iv. 2, 73. *Et quid opus Cratero magnos promittere montes*, Pers. iii. 65. The Greeks said *πόντος χρυσίου, ὄρη χρύσου*.—*obnoxia* (sc. *sibi*), submissive to him : comp. xx. 7.—*postremo*, in fine, in short.—*agitare*, i. q. *agere*.—4. *insolentia*, this unusual conduct ; or, it may be, insolence.—*occultum habuit*, kept secret. It is stronger than *occultavit*, as it denotes continuance.—*sublato*, taken away, i. e. concealed.—*quoque modo*, i. e. *et quo modo*. She did not, perhaps, mention her *liaison* with Curius, but probably only said that she had it from one of the conspirators.—6. *æstuabat*, i. e. *flagrabat*.—*quamvis*, i. e. be he ever so.—*homo novus*, i. e. a man who had no images, as none of his family had borne a curule dignity.—*post fuere*, i. e. *cesserunt, posthabite sunt*.

XXIV. 1. *Igitur*, etc. The candidates were seven in number, viz. two patricians, P. Sulpicius Galba and L. Sergius Catilina ; two noble plebeians, C. Antonius and L. Cassius Longinus (see on xvii. 3) ; two plebeians into whose families honours had only lately come, Q. Cornificius and C. Licinius Sacerdos ; and finally, M. Tullius Cicero, from Arpinum, the illustrious orator, who alone among them was of the equestrian order. Galba, Cornificius, and Sacerdos, are said to have been men of good character : those of the other three rivals of Cicero have been already shown. Of these, Catilina and Antonius had formed a coalition, supported by C. Julius Cæsar and M. Crassus, in order to keep out Cicero. As they carried bribery to a most audacious extent, the senate determined to increase the penalties of it ; and when Q. Mucius, a tribune of the people, had interposed his *veto*, Cicero rose and delivered his speech *In Toga Candida*, which, judging by the fragments of it which remain, contained a withering exposure of the infamy of the previous lives and characters of Catilina and Antonius. Cicero was elected by a large majority of votes, but the confederates distanced their competitors, and the name and memory of his father gained Antonius the votes of a very few centuries over Catilina ; and thus the man who was known to be meditating the return of the days of Sulla, was nearly appointed to the very highest office in the state.

Surely we may say the republic was gone beyond hope. See Ascon. in Cic. in *Tog. Cand.*

Primo, sc. *momento* or *tempore*, at first.—*popularis*; see xxii. 1.—*concusserat*. We cannot regard this otherwise than as an enallage for the perf.: see Excursus I. 4.—2. *mutuam* (i. q. *mutuatam* ?), borrowed. It differed from *fœnus* in this, that no interest was paid on it, Non. v. 70.—*Fœsulas* (*Fiesole*), the origin of the modern city of Florence in Tuscany. Its ruins are on a hill over that city, which is built in the valley on the banks of the Arno.—*portare*, i. e. *portare facere*: comp. Jug. xxxvi. 1.—*Manlium*. This man had been one of Sulla's officers: see Plut. Cic. 14; Appian, Bell. Civ. ii. 3; Dion xxxvii. 30.—*princeps fuit*, was the first to. *Carnutes principes se ex omnibus bellum facturos pollicentur*, Cæs. Bell. Gall. vii. 2.—3. *mulieres*, i. e. *matronas*, ladies, women of rank and family. These, as we may see, were all married women; and what a picture does this give of the corruption of morals under the republic, not exceeded by that under the empire, and which would be unknown to us were it not for the pen of Sallust!—*primo*, i. e. in their younger days; see on § 1.—*neque*, i. e. *at non*.—*modum*, i. e. *finem*, a limit: comp. Hor. Carm. i. 16, 2; iii. 15, 3.—*conflaverant*, i. e. *contraxerant*: see on xiv. 2.—4. *servitia*, i. e. the slaves belonging to their husbands. The men of rank kept great numbers of slaves in their mansions at Rome.—*urbem incendere*. It would seem from this that these abandoned women would set fire to their own houses.—*viros*, i. e. *maritos*. This use of the word is frequent in the comic poets, like the Greek ἀνὴρ.

XXV. 1. *Sed in his*, i. e. Now one of these.—*Sempronia*. The wife of D. Junius Brutus (see xl. 5), and mother of D. Brutus, one of the slayers of Cæsar. She was by birth of the Sempronian gens, but to which of its families, which were numerous, as the Gracchi, Atratinii, Blæsi, etc., she belonged, is not known. Perhaps Sallust's reason for naming her in particular, for which there was no necessity, was to cast a slur on the memory of her son.—*virilis*, i. e. which only belonged, was suited to a man.—2. *viro*, i. e. *marito*.—*satis*, i. e. *bene*, *multum*, *valde*: see on ii. 1.—*litteris . . . docta*. Cicero (Brut. 45) uses *doctus* in like manner with the abl.—*psallere et saltare*, sc. *sciebat*. *Psallere* is *fidibus canere*, to play on the lute. Young persons of both sexes at Rome were taught both music and dancing, for which there were regular masters and schools, as in modern times: see on Hor.

Sat. i. 10, 90. Macrobius (Sat. ii. 10) gives a very curious extract from a speech of Scipio Africanus the younger, against the judicial law of Tib. Gracchus, in which he complains bitterly of this practice.—*elegantius*, etc. Sallust does not object to these accomplishments, but to their being too much cultivated.—*multa alia*, sc. *sciebat*. This verb thus governs, in this place, both the inf. and the accus.—*instrumenta luxuriæ*. It is not easy to conjecture what these were. Perhaps taste in dress, and such like.—3. *decus*, decorum, propriety.—*discerneres*. An indef.—4. *fidem prodiderat*, had broken faith.—*credita abjuraverat*, i. e. when called on to pay money that had been lent to her, she affirmed on oath that she had never received it. *Quibus sui nihil est nisi una lingua, Qui abjurant si quid creditum est*, Plaut. Curc. iv. 2, 9. *Abjurare est rem creditum negare perjurio*, Serv. Æn. viii. 263.—*cædis*, murder.—*luxuria*, etc., sc. *denique*; for *sæpe* does not apply here.—*præceps*, headlong, stopped at nothing.—5. *haud absurdum*: see on iii. 1. *Procar moribus neque absurdus ingenio*, Tac. Hist. iii. 62.—*modesto*. This word is to be taken here in the same sense as our, modest. Its proper meaning is *κόσμιος, σώφρων*, moderate, temperate.—*mollis*, gay, lively; the opposite of *tristis, severus*.—*procaci*, bold, wanton, lascivious. It was used of the *meretrices*, from *proco*, to solicit. *Si ita sese gereret, ut non solum meretrix, sed etiam procar videretur*, Cic. pro Cæl. 20.—*prorsus*, in short.—*facetia* (sc. *inerant*), wit and graceful language: see on Hor. Sat. i. 2, 26; 10, 44. It was chiefly employed, Cicero says (Orat. 26), in *narrando aliquid venuste*.—*lepos*, spriteliness. Catullus (l. 7) in like manner joins these two substantives.

XXVI. 1. *His rebus*, i. e. the preparations for war mentioned in xxiv.—*nihilominus*. For though he was ready for war, he resolved to wait, and make another effort for the consulate.—*sperans*, etc. Because if Antonius saw that the power of the state was to fall to Catilina, he would deem it more for his advantage to join him than to continue to act with Cicero, whose power would expire with his year of office.—2. *insidiæ*, plots to have him assassinated.—*dolus*, i. q. *sollertia*. This word, like *facinus* and others, had a middle signification; hence the legal expression, *sine dolo malo*.—4. *pactione provinciarum*. By the Sempronian law (see Hist. of Rome, p. 303) the provinces to be assigned to the future consuls were determined by the senate before the elections, in order that there might be no grounds for partiality; and the consuls then cast lots for them, or settled them by

private agreement. The provinces this year were Macedonia and Cisalpine Gaul; and Cicero voluntarily exchanged the former, which had fallen to him, and which was by far the richer and more profitable one, with Antonius: see Cic. in Pis. 2; Plut. Cic. 12. At this time the consuls usually remained at Rome during their year of office, and governed their provinces the following year as proconsuls.—*clientium*. This word is not to be understood in its original sense, for Cicero, as the native of a *municipium*, could not have had clients at Rome. It means people of the inferior classes, as *libertini*, etc., who from various causes were attached to him personally: comp. xix. 5.—5. *Postquam*; etc. See Excursus II. The candidates were, as far as is known, Catilina, Ser. Sulpicius, D. Junius Silanus, and M. Licinius Murena. The two last were elected.—*quas consuli*, etc. Many MSS. read *consulibus*, which Corte adopted, but it does not accord with what has just been said of Antonius. Cicero says (Cat. i. 5), *Cum proximis comitiis consularibus me consulem in campo, et competitores tuos interficere voluisti, compressi tuos nefarios conatus, amicorum præsidio et copiis*. Speaking of it elsewhere (pro Mur. 26) he says: *et quod homines jam tunc conjuratos cum gladiis in campum deduci a Catilina sciebam, descendi in campum cum firmissimo præsidio fortissimorum virorum*, etc.—*aspera*, i. e. *dura, calamitosa*.—*fæda, αἰσχρά*, i. e. *disgraceful*.

XXVII. 1. *Igitur*, etc. He had already said (c. xxiv) that Manlius was at Fæsulæ. But that, we may recollect, was a year before, and he had probably come to Rome to vote for Catilina, and to arrange with him the plan for their further proceedings.—*Camertem*, a native of that part of Umbria adjoining Picenum, of which Camerinum was the chief town.—*agrum Picenum*. This district stretched along the coast of the Adriatic from Ancona to Hatria. We must not, as some have done, suppose it to be the *agrum Picentinum* in Campania that is meant.—*ubique*, i. e. *et ubi*.—*opportunum* (sc. *cum*), useful.—2. *opportuna loca*, etc.: see xxiv. 2.—*obsidere*, i. e. *occupare*. It can only mean that his associates in these places were secretly provided with arms, for there was as yet no open outbreak.—*cum telo esse*. These are the words of the legal formulas; for it was forbidden by the XII Tables, and by the Cornelian law; *Nuper in Capitolio senator inventus est, qui Milonem cum telo esse diceret. Nudavit se . . . Omnia falsa, atque insidiose ficta comperta sunt*, Cic. pro Mil. 24.—*item*, i. e. *etiam, pariter, similiter*: comp. xvii. 7; xviii. 1; xlii. 1; Jug. xcix. 1; c. 4; Cic. pro Mil. 4. He probably

only carried secret arms.—*jubere*, sc. *esse cum telo*.—*insomniis*. The use of this word in the pl. is, we believe, peculiar to Sallust. He has *insomniis occidere*, Fr. Hist. iv. 12.—3. *intempesta nocte*, in the dead of the night, i. e. about midnight : see Varr. *ap.* Macrob. i. 3.—*per*. . . *Læcam*. It was at Læca's house that the meeting was held on the night of the Postr. Non. Nov., in the street named Inter Falcarios: Cic. Cat. i. 4; pro Sull. 18. It was therefore more suitable that Læca should invite, than Catilinæ summon, them.—4. *ibi*, i. e. *apud Læcam*.—*paraverat* sc. *Manlius*.—*exercitum*, sc. *Manlii*. Manlius had appeared in arms on the vi Kal. Nov., Cic. Cat. i. 3.—*oppressisset*, sc. *insidiis*.—*eum*, sc. *nam*.

XXVIII. 1. *C. Cornelius*: see xvii. 4. Cicero also names him, pro Sull. 18.—*Vargunteius senator*. Cicero in his speech delivered next day says *duo equites*. But he may not have been correctly informed, or he may have had some reason for not hinting at Vargunteius, who was probably present.—*paulo post*. This can only mean, as soon as they could; for they would not be admitted before daybreak. *Prima salutantes atque altera continet hora*, Mart. iv. 8, 1.—2. *Curius*, etc. He must then have gone direct to Fulvia, and she must have sent direct to Cicero, for he had time to strengthen his guards and inform his friends of what was to occur: Cic. Cat. i. 4.—4. *injuræ*, i. e. *quod Sullæ*, etc. Sulla had confiscated and granted to his legions all the lands in the north of Tuscany.—*latrones*, i. e. brigands. These were probably composed of those who had been robbed of their property, just as the brigands of modern Italy were in general the victims of oppression.—*lubido*, i. e. the indulgence of their passions and appetites: comp. xiii. 4.

XXIX. 1. *Ea*, etc. He evidently goes back here in his narrative to xxvii. 1, 2; for Cicero (Cat. i. 3) knew all about the proceedings of Manlius, long before the meeting at Læca's.—*rem ad senatum refert*. This was in October; for in his speech on vi Id. Nov. (Cat. i. 2.) he says that the following decree had been made twenty days previously.—2. *atroci*, of great danger. The original sense of this word appears to have been *raw* (as if *ἀρρωξ* from *ἀ* and *ρῶγω*). *Simul atrociora porrigerent extâ ministratores*, Næv. ap. Non. ii. 64.—*darent operam*, etc. This was the usual formula: see Hist. of Rome, p. 306.—3. *socios*, etc. This was the proper language previous to the Social War. At this time all the Italians were *cives*.—*jussu*. This is the constitutional term; for *populus jubet, senatus censet*: see Liv. xxxi. 7. By *populus* was probably understood the original Roman *populus*

(i. e. the patricians) in their *comitia curiata*; for the proper term respecting the *plebs* was *scisco*. *Quæ sciscent plebes aut quæ populus juberet*, Cic. Flac. 7. *Cum pontifices decressint si neque populi jussu neque plebis scitu is qui se dedicasse diceret*, etc., Id. ad Att. iv. 2.

XXX. 1. *Post paucos dies*, i. e. after the making of the decree for investing the consuls with absolute power.—2. *solet*, sc. *feri*, which several MSS. have in the text.—*portenta atque prodigia*. These words are usually thus joined; by the former (from *pro* and *tendo*) is meant unusual natural phenomena, as comets, whirlwinds, thunder of a clear day, Paul. Diac. *s. v.*; the latter (from *pro* and *dico*? Fest. *s. v.*) apparently expresses the same phenomena. Cicero in his poem on his consulate (Div. i. 11, 12) notices several of those that were observed in this year. They were of the kind just mentioned.—*conventus fieri*, sc. *in variis locis*, i. e. throughout Italy, not at Rome. The word is taken here in a bad sense.—*arma portari*, i. e. from one place to another.—*servile bellum*, a rising of the slaves. It was in these places that the Servile War broke out in 679: see Hist. of Rome, p. 359.—3. *senati*. Sallust uses this noun in the second decl. in the gen., but not in the other cases.—*Q. Marcius Rex*. He was consul in 685, and then, as proconsul in Cilicia, commanded the war against the pirates.—*Q. Metellus Creticus*. Consul in 683; the conqueror of Crete in 685: see Hist. of Rome, p. 364.—4. *ad urbem*, near, outside of the city. Commanders returning from their provinces, and who sought the honour of a triumph, remained outside of the city till the senate had accorded them that honour. *Qui ne triumphaturi quidem intrare urbem injussu senatus deberetis, quibusque exercitum victorem reducentibus curia extra muros præberetur*, Sen. Ben. v. 15. Audience was usually given them in the temple of Bellona, or of Apollo. Those going out to take the government of provinces also remained without the city, Ascon. on Cic. Verr. i. 15: see Hist. of Rome, pp. 242, 392, 397.—*calumnia*. This word means here, false and frivolous objections.—*paucorum*, i. e. the oligarchs: see on xx. 7. Drumann (Gesch. Rom. v. 453) thinks that Pompeius is meant. But surely, of all men of the time, what follows applies least to him. He, it is said, denied their right to triumph, as they could only be regarded as his legates in the Piratic war. Metellus, however, triumphed the following year, Eutrop. vi. 16.—*quibus omnia*, etc.: comp. Jug. xxxi. 12.—5. *Q. Pompeius Rufus*. There is nothing more known of him except that he was proprætor in Africa in 691.—*Q. Me-*

tellus Celer. He had been one of Pompeius' legates in Asia, and had only lately returned from the East.—7. *decrevere*, sc. *senatores*, included in *Senati*.—*sestertia centum*, i. e. 100,000 sesterces, about £1000.—*gladiatoriae familiae*, i. e. those troops of gladiators that were kept in *ludi* or schools to be hired out to those who gave shows. It is those of Rome that are meant.—*minores magistratus*, i. e. the *ædiles*, *quæstors*, *tribunes*, and *triumviri nocturni*.

XXXI. 1. *Civitas*: see on v. 8.—*facies*, the outward appearance.—*lascivia*, gaiety. The word is not to be taken here in a bad sense.—*diuturna*. Yet it was only fifteen years from the death of Sulla.—3. *magnitudine* (abl. causal), i. q. *propter magnitudinem*.—*insolitus*. Because all wars were now at a distance. But, as we have just observed, the times of Sulla were not so very remote: comp. Hist. of Greece, p. 338.—4. *lege Plautia*. So named from the tribune M. Plautius, its author, in 663. It was a severe law, *de vi*, forbidding *cum telo esse*, etc.—*interrogatus*: see on xviii. 1.—*L. Paulo*, sc. *Æmilio*. The future builder of the Basilica *Æmilia*. This was his first engagement in public life. It was on this occasion that Catilina offered, in the usual manner, to put himself in *liberam custodiam* into the hands of M. Lepidus, or Cicero himself, or Metellus Celer, or M. Marcellus. Cic. Cat. i. 8.—5. *aut sui*. A few MSS., which Kritz follows, read *et ut*. *Ut* being i. q. *quasi*.—*sui expurgandi* is an instance of a curious peculiarity of the Latin language, the union of a gen. instead of an acc. with the gerund. *In castra venerunt sui purgandi causa*, Cæs. B. G. iv. 13. *Ego ejus videndi cupidus recta consequor*, Ter. Hec. iii. 3, 12; *Pænorum solvendi tempus*, Lucr. v. 1224; *Permissa jocandi licentia diripiendique pomorum*, Suet. Oct. 98. Zumpt (§ 661) thinks that, by a confusion common to all languages, the noun which properly depends on the gerund is made to depend on the subst.; Kritz adopts the opinion of Stallbaum, that the gerund and the leading subst. are so closely combined as to form but one idea, and make, as it were, one word, which then may be followed by a gen. as the subst. alone might be.—*jurgio*, *βλασφημία*, abuse, calumny. *Jurgio hercle tandem uxorem abigi a janua*, Plaut. Men. i. 2, 18.—*in Senatum venit*. This was the day following the nocturnal meeting at the house of Læca, and the attempt to assassinate Cicero, xxviii. Cicero had assembled the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator on the summit of the Velia (at the arch of Titus), which he terms a *munitissimus locus* (Cat. i. 1), probably on account of its elevated site (*in summa Velia*, *ibi*, *alto ac munito loco*, *arcem inexpugnabilem fore*, Liv. ii. 7), and which was guarded

by the Equites in arms (ad Att. ii. 1). When Catilina entered, no one returned his salute, and all the consulars rose and left the benches empty around him, Cic. Cat. i. 7.—6. *presentiam*, etc. He hints at the natural timidity of Cicero, who may have feared that Catilina intended to make an attempt on his life.—*orationem*, sc. *illam*?—*luculentam*, i. e. *præclaram*, *insignem*.—*quam postea*, etc. And therefore he does not give it. It is the first Catilinarian.—7. *ne*, i. q. *ut non*.—*ortum*, sc. *se*.—*bona*, sc. *publica*, i. e. the dignities and offices of the state.—*inquilinus* (from *incola*?). As he was born at Arpinum, a *municipium*, and not at Rome.—8. *paricidam*: see on xiv. 3.—9. *circumventus*: see on xvi. 3. It seems, however, to be taken here in its simple sense of *surrounded*, and there is a metaphor of a beast being hunted and forced to the edge of a cliff down which he must spring. In that case he then changes the figure, just as Horace so often does.—*incendium*, etc. Cicero (pro Mur. 25) says: *Cum . . . Catoni . . . iudicium minitanti ac denuntianti respondisset, si quod esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum, id se non aqua, sed ruina restincturum*. Now this must have occurred before the elections; and as the speech for Murena was one of Cicero's consular orations, it must have been delivered in November or December. Sallust therefore is incorrect; for it is hardly possible that Catilina would have used the same words twice. On this occasion perhaps he used only the former figure, and said that he would turn on his pursuers.—*ruina*, i. e. by pulling down the house.

XXXII. 1. *ex curia*, i. e. *ex Senatu*: comp. xlix. 4: see Jug. xv. 2. As he had not mentioned the temple of Jupiter Stator, it is possible that he may have committed an error here, and have meant the ordinary senate-house, the Curia Hostilia. It is doubtful if *curia* was yet i. q. *senatus*, a meaning which it certainly had at a later period. *Exercitum victorem reducentibus curia extra muros præberetur*, Sen. Ben. v. 15.—*insidiæ*, sc. *structæ*.—*optimum factum*. This is the reading of several good MSS., and is adopted by Corte, Gerlach, and Kritz. Orelli follows those that read *factu*. We would take *factum* substantively. *Nunc adeo hoc factum est optimum ut nomine quamque appellem suo*, Plaut. Pseud. i. 2, 52. *Bonum factum* was the usual heading of edicts. *Libellus propositus est: Bonum factum. Ne qui senatori novo curiam ostendere velit*, Suet. Jul. 80. *Bonum factum est, edicta ut servetis mea*, Plaut. Poen. Pr. 16.—*scriberentur*, i. q. *conscriberentur*. Cicero (ad Fam. iii. 3) also uses the simple verb.—[*multa*]. We retain this word thus, be-

cause it is in the great majority of the MSS.; but we think with Corte, Kritz, and Orelli, that the sense is far better without it.—*antecapere*, sc. *loca, præsidia*, etc. The verb is to be taken in its original sense.—*profectus est*, set out for; the proper sense of this verb.—2. *factionis*, i. e. *conjuratōnis*.—*accessurum*, sc. *affirmat*, included in *mandat*.—3. *ex suo numero*, i. e. out of those who were with him : see Ernest. Clav. Cic. s. v.

XXXIII. 1. *periculum*, i. e. *injuriā*.—*tuta*, part. of *tuor*, i. q. *tueor*.—*patriæ*. We may observe how Sallust here, with his usual passion for novelty and variety, uses *expers* with both the gen. and the abl. case.—*sed, dē*.—*fortunis*, property : see on Hor. Ep. i. 5, 12.—*lege uti*, i. e. claim and receive the protection of the law. *Lege* seems to be used here in a collective sense ; for there had been several laws (the Licinian, Duilian, Genucian, Sempronian, etc.) passed for the protection of debtors against their creditors : see Hist. of Rome, pp. 123, 129, 131. For the Roman law of debt, see ib. pp. 59, 92.—*liberum corpus habere*. This seems to be an exaggeration. In A. U. 429, a law was passed prohibiting imprisonment for debt, Liv. viii. 28 ; and we do not recollect any later instances of this practice.—*Prætoris*, sc. *Urbani*, before whom the causes were brought.—2. *Sæpe*. Alluding to the above-mentioned laws.—*novissime*, etc., i. e. in 666, when the consul, L. Valerius Flaccus, was, as Velleius says (ii. 23), *turpissimæ legis auctor, qua creditoribus quadrantum solvi jusserat*, i. e. by giving a copper as instead of a silver sesterce. This was only paying a fourth, as from the time of the second Punic war the sesterce contained four, instead of the original two and a half asses ; see Plin. xxxiii. 13.—*bonis*, i. e. the nobility and men of property. But they could have been only those of the Marian party, and in all probability the consent was an extorted one.—3. *Sæpe ipsa plebes*. Five secessions are recorded : see Hist. of Rome, pp. 62, 96, 124, 136, 159. We do not see how *dominandi studio* could apply to any of them, unless it be the second.

XXXIV. 1. *ab eo*, i. e. S. P. Q. R. regarded as one body.—2. *optumo cuique*, i. e. the principal members of the aristocracy.—*criminibus*, accusations, criminal charges.—*in exilium*, i. e. as a place of exile : see Hist. of Rome, p. 83.—*non quo*, i. e. *non eo quod*, *quod* becoming *quo* by attraction, as in Greek. It is thus that Kritz explains it after Matthiæ.—3. *Q. Catulus*, sc. *Lutatius*, one of the most celebrated men of those times : see the places referred to in Index, Hist. of Rome, v. Lutatius (3).—*nomine*, i. e.

as from. It does not, however, express any doubt of the genuineness.—*exemplum*, a copy, in which sense *exemplum* is frequently used by Cicero: see ad Att. ix. 6, 13, 14. We have probably here the very letter of Catilina.—*infra*, etc., i. e. follows, or, as we would say, the following is a copy of it.

XXXV. 1. *fides*, honour.—*re cognita*, known by experience. *Fama prius, deinde re cognitum*, Liv. xxi. 53.—*grata mihi*. Corte conjectured *gratam*, which has been received by Gerlach and Kritz.—*in magnis*, etc., sc. *his*.—*fiduciam*, sc. *mihi*, i. e. gives me confidence in commending myself and my cause to you; or rather, perhaps, in commending my wife to your care, § 6.—*commendationi meæ*, sc. *huic*.—2. *in novo consilio*, sc. *hoc meo*, i. e. of going to the army of Manlius.—*parare*, sc. *tibi*.—*satisfactionem*, explanation. His meaning is, that to a friend who knew him, like Catulus, he would not offer a defence as if before a court of justice, yet he would give him some explanation of his conduct.—*ex nulla*, etc. though conscious of no criminal act or intention. For this sense of *ex* see on xii. 2.—*de culpa*. *His de rebus conscius esse Pisonem*, Cic. Att. ii. 24.—*mediusfidius*, i. e. *me dius Fidius juvet*. For this god, also named Sancus, see on Ov. Fast. vi. 213. Mythol. p. 530.—3. *Injuris . . . obtinebam*. This then is my reason (*satisfactio*). He means his failing to obtain the consulate.—*publicam*, etc., i. e. the cause of the bankrupts, prodigals, and others, with whom he was associated.—*non quin*, etc. Not that I am such myself; for I am perfectly solvent. Cicero, however, had told him the contrary (Cat. i. 6): *Prætermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnes impendere tibi proximis Idibus senties*.—*æs alienum*, sc. *contractum*.—*meis nominibus*, on my own account. The lender, of course, entered the *nomen* of the borrower in his books, and this word came to signify both the debtor and the debt.—*alienis*, etc., i. e. the debts of other people for whom he had gone security; for, *quod debitor non solvit sponsor solvat*, Quint. Declam. ccxxxvii. *Liberales autem qui . . . æs alienum suscipiunt amicorum*, Cic. Off. ii. 16.—*non dignos homines*. Meaning Cicero.—*alienatum*, put away, rejected. *Rogasse vellem . . . Unde mihi peterem cibum: ita nos alienavit*, Ter. Heaut. v. 2, 25.—*hoc nomine*, on this account.—*satis*: see on v. 4.—*pro meo casu*, sc. *duro, acerbo*: comp. xl. 2; Jug. xiv. 22; xxiii. 2. He means, taking arms.—*vim mihi parari*, sc. *ab inimicis*. We know not what this means. He cannot allude to the decree mentioned in the next chapter, declaring him and Manlius public enemies.

XXXVI. 1. *Agro Arretino*, i. e. the district of Arretium (*Arezzo*) in Tuscany. Most MSS. read *Reatino*, an undoubted error; for what could take him to Reate in the Sabine country?—*solicitatum*, dealt, tampered with, excited: comp. l. 1. *Cujus servum Fabricius ad venenum Avito dandum spe et pretio sollicitare cœpit*, Cic. pro Cluent. 16.—*cum fascibus*, etc. As if he was a proconsul, or rather to represent himself as being consul by right: comp. xviii. 5.—2. *sine fraude*, i. e. *sine periculo*, *tuto*. A legal term: see Cic. Legg. ii. 24.—*delectum habeant*, i. e. levy troops.—3. *Antonius*, sc. *et tum*.—4. *miserabile*, to be pitied.—*visum est*, sc. *cum de eo cogitarem*. Either when he was preparing to write this work, or at that very time when he was probably residing at Rome and observing the state of public affairs.—*otium*, ἡσυχία, i. e. *par*. *Ego quidem et urbi et otio diffiderem urbano*, Cic. ad Fam. xii. 1.—5. *duobus*, etc., sc. *factis*, abl. abs.—*tabes*, i. e. *pestilentia*: comp. x. 1.

XXXVII. 1. *Aliena*, sc. *a republica*.—*fuertant*: see on Jug. xxxix. 3.—2. *adeo*, in fact. It is here an emphatic expletive like the Italian *pure*.—3. *bonis*, the respectable people, the people of property, who of course were in general Conservatives: see on xix. 2. *Boni et mali cives appellati non ob merita in rempublicam . . . sed uti quisque locupletissimus et injuria validior*, Fr. Hist. i. 9.—*sine cura* (sc. *sui*) *aluntur*: comp. xiv. 3.—*habetur*: see on i. 4.—4. *ea*, *it*, emphatic.—*præceps ierat*, sc. *in malum*: see on xxv. 4.—5. *Primum omnium*. This is exactly our, first of all, with the same ellipse. It is of frequent use.—*ubique*, any where, in any part of the world.—*probrio*, infamy.—*petulantia*, impudence. *Ex hac parte pugnat pudor, illic petulantia*, Cic. Cat. ii. 11.—*præstabant*. Gerlach observes that this is nearly a solitary instance of the use of this verb in a bad sense.—*dedecora*, i. e. their vices, which brought disgrace on them.—*flagitium*, etc.: see on xiv. 1.—*facinus*, sc. *malum*.—*in sentinam*. The original and only meaning of *sentina* is, bilge-water, i. e. the water that gets in at the sides of a ship, and lies at the bottom of the hold, and not, as is said (Ern. Clav. Cic. s. v.), that place. *Sin tu . . . exieris exhauriatur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciose rei publicæ sentina*, Cic. Cat. i. 6. *Nisi forte in ea te castra coniecisti, quo omnis sentina reip. confluerat*, Pseud-Cic. in Sall. 6. Here it means that the vicious from other places repaired to the great body of the vicious at Rome; and when Cicero says (ad Fam. ix. 15), *sedebamus enim in puppe et clavum tenebamus, nunc autem vix est in sentina locus*, it is still the

bilge-water that is meant. That this is the meaning of the word in all other places cannot be doubted: see Cic. Cat. i. 6; ii. 4; Rull. ii. 26; Cat. Maj. 6; Cæs. B. C. iii. 28; Sen. Ep. 30; Plin. x. 70.—6. *ex gregariis*, etc. This circumstance is only mentioned by Sallust, and by Dionysius (v. 77), who may have taken it from him, and when we consider the high aristocratic views of Sulla, it seems almost incredible. Appian (i. 100) says that he increased the senate by 300 members selected by the people from the most respectable (*ἀρίστων*) of the knights. We have seen that Sallust is not particularly accurate in his notices of past transactions, and he may here have casually, or perhaps voluntarily, confounded the conduct of Sulla with that of his patron Cæsar: see Hist. of Rome, p. 498.—*ita divites*, etc. Asconius (on Cic. in Tog. Cand.) mentions one Luscius, a centurion, who got for his share property to the amount of HS centies, i. e. about £100,000.—*ætatem agerent*, i. e. *viverent*.—7. *toleraverat*, i. e. *sustinuerat*: see xxiv. 3.—*largitionibus*, i. e. the distributions of corn, money, etc., made by the state or by individuals.—*excita*, sc. *ab agris*, induced to quit the country.—*ingrato* (i. e. *molesto*), sc. *in agris*.—*eos*, sc. *juvenes*, i. e. *juventus*: comp. xvi. 2.—*alios*, sc. *illos*: see § 5.—*alebat*, i. e. held forth hopes of support, says Kritz. But it may mean, they derived their support from the ill condition of the state, which gave a licence to both public and private vice, which would not be the case if it were in a sound condition.—8. *Quo*, etc. This, he means, explains why no one gave information. They were desperate.—*juxta*: see on ii. 8.—9. *quorum*, etc.: see Hist. of Rome, p. 350.—*haud sane*, etc., i. e. they were of the same way of thinking, that, go things as they might, *they* could not be worse off than they were.—11. *Id malum*, i. e. *conturbatio reipublicæ*. He means, as the next chapter shows, the disturbances caused by restless and ambitious tribunes.—*multos post annos*. The tribunician power had been restored only seven years before. But as the last turbulent tribune had been Saturninus, in 652 (Ib. p. 326), he may be justified in saying *multos*.

XXXVIII. 1. *Nam*, etc., Hist. of Rome, p. 361.—*summam*, sc. *eam*. He seems to use the adj. *summam* because the tribunate not being included in the Lex Villia Annalis (see on Ov. Fast. v. 65), it could be obtained by men who were not old enough to be ever curule ædiles. It was, therefore, the highest office to which an *adulescens*, i. e. a man under thirty-seven, could attain.—*cæpere*, etc. He appears to have had chiefly in view Gabinius

and Manilius : Hist. of Rome, pp. 363, 371.—*largiundo*, etc. We do not know to what this refers.—2. *Senati specie*, i. e. under the pretext of supporting the authority of the senate.—3. *verum*, the plain, the real truth.—*modestia*, etc. : see on xi. 4.—4. *utrique* etc. He must have had the days of Marius and Sulla, or those after the time of Catilina, in his mind ; for nothing of the kind occurred in the interval of which he is speaking.

XXXIX. 1. *Sed*, etc. Here, again, one is perplexed by the statements of the historian ; for these two important commands were conferred on Pompeius by the people in spite of the opposition of the aristocracy, the former in 685, the latter in 686, only three years before the time he is treating of. In the extant histories there is no hint of the oligarchy's having attained to such power in that brief period.—*paucorum* : see on xx. 7.—*innoxii*, i. e. *sine noxa*, passive : see on i. 4.—2. *ceteros*, i. e. all those who were not of their party, meaning, perhaps, Cæsar, Crassus, and others who took the popular side. Or it is possibly i. q. *plebem*.—*quo*, i. e. *quia*, *quod*. *Non edepol quo te esse impudicam crederem*, Plaut. Amph. iii. 2, 32. *Non quo libenter male audiam, sed quia ego causam non libenter relinquo*, Cic. ad Fam. v. 19. Or *quo* might be i. q. *ut*. Kritz conjectured *qui*, and put it in the text.—*placidius tractarent*, sc. *ii ceteri*, i. e. had dealt more gently with the people when in office than the oligarchs wished. Kritz, however, says that it is : that they, the oligarchs, might be able to manage the people more easily when in office. Gerlach takes *tractare* to be i. q. *trahere*, i. e. *vexare*, and *placidius* to be i. q. *securius*, meanings which these words, we believe, never have. It is, perhaps, possible that by *plebem placidius tractarent* Sallust, who takes such unusual licences, may have meant *plebem placidiorem tractarent*, i. e. *haberent* : comp. li. 28. *Cum fervet maxime, tam placidum quam ovem reddo*, Ter. Ad. iv. 1, 18.—3. *dubius rebus*, abl. abs. : see on xi. 4.—*vetus*, the old, the former : comp. xxxviii. 1.—*eorum*, i. e. *plebis*, by synesis ; or i. e. *ceterorum*.—4. *Quodsi*, i. e. *ob quod si*.—*exanguibus*, i. e. quite exhausted.—*qui plus posset*, etc., i. e. a tyranny would be established, the leader of one of the parties seizing on the supreme power. He may have had Cæsar in his mind.—5. *tamen*, in fact. The Italian *pure*, as so often elsewhere. He seems to mean that the number even of those of the better classes who were opposed to the oligarchy and were ready for civil strife, was considerable.—5. *parens*, etc. The Roman law gave a father the power of life and death over his children. Fulvius

prefaced the sentence by saying: *Non se Catilinæ adversus patriam, sed patriæ adversus Catilinam genuisse*, Val. Max. v. 8, 5.—6. *cujusque*, etc. Meaning the Allobroges, who are mentioned in the next chapter.

XL. 1. *P. Umbreno*. A *libertinus*, Cic. Cat. iii. 6. His *nomen* is not given.—*legatos*. There were only two of them; Plut. Cic. 18.—*Allobrogum*. These were a people of Narbonese Gaul, occupying the country between the Leman lake, the Rhone, the Isara (*Isère*), and the Alps. Their principal town was Vienna (*Vienne*), on the Rhone. They were conquered in 631 by Q. Fabius Maximus, thence named Allobrogicus; Hist. of Rome, p. 310.—*publice*, etc. The money-lenders at Rome always contrived to get the provincials deeply into their debt. For the tribute and other taxes which they had to pay to the Roman people were high and were rigorously exacted; and as neither the communities nor individuals always had the means of paying, they were obliged to borrow money from wealthy Romans, and as these (Hist. of Rome, pp. 289, 464) often charged nearly 50 per cent., we may easily see how the provincials came to be immersed in debt.—2. *negotiatu est*. A *negotiator* at this time signified a Roman citizen who lent out his money on interest in the provinces: see Ernesti, Clav. Cic. s. v.—3. *principibus*, leading men.—*civitatum*, i. e. the various communities within the Roman province.—*in foro*, i. e. walking about the Forum, not as Drumann (v. 486) says, on the place named the Græcostasis.—*casum*, sc. *durum*: comp. xxxv. 4.—*avaritia*, greediness, covetousness: see on iii. 3.—*magistratum*, i. e. of the governors and others whom the Romans sent into their country: comp. Jug. xix. 7.—*miseriis suis*, a dat.—*mortem*, sc. *solam*.—4. *sui*, sc. *status*: see Hor. Excurs. II.—5. *non aliena consili*, sc. *sui*, i. e. *opportuna consilio*. Or rather as Herzog explains it, *conscia, conjurationis particeps*. The construction with the gen. is unusual, but it occurs in Cicero, as, *quis alienum putet ejus esse dignitatis*, Fin. i. 4.—*Semproniam*, his wife: see xxv.—*nam*, etc. The reason why he could take them thither; for Brutus was not acquainted with the conspiracy.—6. *aperit*, i. e. *indicat, narrat*.—*innorios*, innocent persons, who knew nothing of it.—*domum*, home, i. e. to their residence at Rome.

XLI. 1. *In incerto habuere* (comp. Jug. xvi. 8), i. e. *incerti fuere*. 'Εν ἀπόρρῳ εἶχοντο, Thuc. i. 25.—2. *in altera parte*, on the one side. The motives for joining in the conspiracy.—*es alienum*, sc. *civitatis*.—*studium bell*: see xl. 1.—*in spe*, i. e. to be hoped or expected from.—*at in altera*, motives on the other side.—*maiores*

opes, greater power or means, sc. on the part of the government at Rome. Kritz says it is “*majo rem potentiam et auctoritatem legatis eo futuram*,” with which we cannot agree.—*tuta*, sc. *sibi*.—*certa*. For they regarded it as a matter of certainty that the government would reward them handsomely if they gave information of the conspiracy.—3. *Hæc*, etc. abl. abs.—4. *Q. Fabio Sangæ*. Of this person nothing further is known. He was, of course, a descendant of the conqueror of the Allobroges.—*patrocinio*. *Tantopere apud nostros justitia culta est, ut ii qui civitates aut nationes devictas bello in fidem receperissent eorum patroni essent, more majorum*, Cic. Off. i. 11.—5. *ceteros*. For as yet they only knew Gabinus and Umbrenus.—*bene*, i. e. *multum*.—*manifestos*, i. q. *manifestatos*, i. e. have them completely in their power, so as to be able to convict them from their own words, actions, etc.

XLII. 1. *Bruttio*, sc. *agro*.—*motus*, sc. *animorum*, i. e. terror, uneasiness : comp. xxxi. 1. It is usually taken as i. q. *tumultus* ; but this will not accord with the following *plus timoris*, etc.—2. *simul agebant*. Instead of acting with caution, and doing only one thing at a time. This flurry is common in conspiracies, and nothing tends more to defeat them.—*consiliis*. For this use of the word see Jug. lxii. 4 ; Cæs. B. G. i. 40 ; iii. 8.—3. *Ex*, etc. in pursuance of, etc. : see xxxvi. 2.—*ulteriore*. This is the conjecture of Corte (since found in one MS.), all the MSS reading *citeriore*. It is an instance of how certain a conjecture may be ; for Cicero (pro L. Murena, 41) says in this very year—this very month, we might say—*an se in contrariam partem terrarum abdet, ut Gallia Transalpina quem nuper summo cum imperio libentissime viderit . . . exulem videat ? In ea porro provincia quo animo C. Murenam, fratrem suum, aspiciet*. It was Q. Metellus that commanded in Citerior Gaul : see xxx. 5 ; lvii. 2 ; Cic. Cat. ii. 12 ; Dion. xxxvii. 33.—*legatus*. The governors of provinces always had legates, or lieutenants, to whom they left the charge of them when business took themselves away. Pompeius had influence enough to be allowed to govern Spain for some years by his lieutenants : Hist. of Rome, p. 403. C. Murena was legate to his brother Lucius, who left him in charge of the province when he went to Rome to stand for the consulate, where he had since been detained : see on xxvi. 5.

XLIII. 1. *Uti . . . venisset*. There is a difficulty here, for it was in this very place that Manlius had already formed his army. *Quom* is wanting in some MSS., *cum exercitu* in others. Corte conjectured *uti Catilina . . . cum venisset*, which Gerlach found in some

MSS., and therefore adopted. We think, however, the reading in the text may be right; for, as we shall see, what they proposed could not be done before December, and they knew already that Catilina was with Manlius, though not perhaps exactly where. Sallust we know does not always aim at minute accuracy.—*L. Bestia*: see xvii. 3. He had been elected one of the tribunes for the following year, and these magistrates entered on their office on the iv Id. Dec. (10th), Dionys. vi. 89; so that the following *concio* could not be held till after that day.—*concione*, an assembly of the people.—*invidiam*, the odium: see on xxii. 3.—*optumo consuli*. This was perhaps a formula like our *worthy magistrate*. Cicero, speaking of Brutus' work in praise of Cato (ad Att. xii. 21), says: *Hic autem se etiam tribuere multum putat, quod scripserit optimum consulem. Quis enim jejuniis dixit inimicus?—eo signo, sc. dato*, abl. abs.—*proruma nocte*, i. e. that very night. He does not say what day it was. The night of the Saturnalia (Dec. 19) was finally fixed on (Cic. Cat. iii. 4; Plut. Cic. 18); but that could not have been the day originally intended, as assemblies of the people could not be held on holidays.—*cetera*, etc., i. e. the rest of the conspirators.—*negotium*, appointed task.—2. *Cethegus*, sc. *tum*.—*filiū familiarum*: see xiv. 5; xvii. 6.—*omnibus*, sc. *civibus*.—*ad Catilinam*, etc. Because he was expected to be close at hand at that time: see xlv. 6.—3. *illos*, sc. *dicens*, included in *querebatur*.

XLIV. 1. *Jusjurandum*, i. e. a sworn treaty.—*signatum*, sc. *ab iis*.—*aliter*, sc. *dicentes*, included in *postulant*.—2. *eo*, i. e. the country of the Allobroges.—*ad civis*, included in the preceding.—*venturum*, i. e. *iturum*: see on Jug. cxii. 2.—3. *Crotoniensem*. This is the reading of nearly all the MSS. As one reads *Certoniensem*, we should feel inclined to conjecture *Cortonensem*; for a native of Cortona in Tuscany would seem fitter for the occasion than one of Croton, in the south of Italy.—4. *Quis sim*, etc. Cicero (Cat. iii. 5) gives the letter as follows: *qui sim ex eo, quem ad te misi cognosces. Cura ut vir sis, et quem in locum sis progressus cogita, et vide quid tibi jam sit necesse. Cura ut omnium tibi auxilia adjungas, etiam infirmorum*. This is apparently the substance of the letter given from memory, and might be regarded as a proof of the genuineness of that speech, as a forger would have copied the letter from Sallust; but it might also be only an instance of the art of the forger: see on lii. 1.—5. *tux rationes*, the state of your affairs.—*infirmis*, i. e. the slaves.

XLV. 1. *Nocte*, i. e. the night of the iv Non. Dec. (2nd), Cic. Cat. iii. 2; iv. 5.—*L. Valerio*, etc. This is the Flaccus whom

Cicero afterwards defended when accused of extortion. Pomptinus was Cicero's legate in Cilicia, in 701 : see Cic. ad Fam. xv. 4. He had previously reduced, and triumphed for, the Allobroges in 698: Cic. ad Att. iv. 16 ; ad Q. Fr. iii. 4 ; Dion. xxxix. 65. Gerlach and Kritz follow the MSS. in reading *Pomptino*. But in Cicero's Epistles it is always *Pomptinus*, and it could not be otherwise, as it was a *nomen* : see Hist. of Rome, p. xiv.—*in*, etc., at the Mulvian bridge (*Ponte Molle*), over which the road to Tuscany still leads.—*comitatus*, i. e. themselves and their *suite*.—2. *homines militares*, being military men.—3. *utrinque*, i. e. *ab utraque parte pontis*, Vet. Gloss. : see Cic. Cat. iii. 2.—4. *timidus*, i. e. *timens* : see Virg. Excursus II.

XLVI. 2. *cura*, anxiety, as appears by the following *anxius*.—*perdundæ*, a dat., like *oneri*. Corte and Gerlach make it a gen. : see vi. 7.—*Igitur*. This must here signify, as usually in Cicero, then, however ; as there is no inference.—3. *confirmato animo* (abl. abs.), having made up his mind. We may observe, that we have here an instance of the practice of ancient, and of modern historians too, of attempting to give us the thoughts, private reasonings, and discourses on particular occasions, of those about whom they write ; for all this must have been already considered by Cicero, and he had from the very first made up his mind as to what he would do. All he wanted was to get convincing evidence of the conspiracy. Jefferson, speaking of Botta's History of the American Revolution, praised it highly, "only," added he, "that he makes us say what we never said."—*vocari*, be summoned, i. e. by his lictors. These were the persons who had signed the letters. He probably summoned them at daybreak ; for it was about three o'clock in the morning that the Allobroges had been seized ; Cic. Cat. iii. 2.—4. *Ceteri*, etc. What incredible stupidity and folly these men showed ! Surely, if they had a particle of sense, they might have suspected that the consul had gotten some information against them. It may, to be sure, be said, that as they were summoned separately, there was less ground for suspicion ; but even this does not clear them.—*indicio*, the discovery. He learned it probably from some one who had seen the prætors returning with the prisoners.—5. *in senatum*. These words, which are wanting in some MSS., and which Corte omits, we have bracketed with Kritz. Those who defend them seem not to have perceived that, as Sallust states the matter, the senate had not yet met.—*perducit*, sc. *in æd. Conc.* We think he uses the compound with *per*, because,

as Cicero's house was on the Palatine, he had to go out at the temple of Jupiter Stator, down the Sacra Via, and all through the Forum, to reach the Temple of Concord, which stood at the foot of the Capitoline hill : see on Ov. Fast. i. 638.—*cum custodibus*, i. e. guarded, which was not the case with Lentulus.—6. *advocat*. Hence it appears, that it was after he had conveyed the prisoners to the Temple of Concord, which of course was guarded (xliv. 4), that he summoned the senate thither.—*scrinium*, i. e. *capsa*, the case or box in which letters, manuscripts, etc., were kept, somewhat like our writing-desk : see on Hor. Sat. i. 1, 121. Cicero tells us (Cat. iii. 3) that some of his friends had urged him to open the *scrinium*, and read the letters before he laid the matter before the senate, lest they might not bear him out in his charge ; but that he refused to do so. He knew, in fact, their contents too well ; and he also knew, that if he had opened the *scrinium*, there were people who would charge him with having put the letters into it himself. He therefore wisely left it in the hands of him who had taken it.

XLVII. 1. *consili*, design, intention. It is to be taken with *quid*.—*alia*, sc. *consilia*.—*fide publica*, sc. *data*. *Fidem ei publicam, jussu senatus, dedi*, Cic. Cat. iii. 4. Kritz, as usual, rejects the ellipse, and says it is quasi *cum fide publica*, as we would say, on the public faith. He therefore became what we call an *approver*.—*paucis ante*, etc. This would seem to confirm our conjecture of his being a Cortonian, as he might have been admitted chiefly with a view to his accompanying the Allobroges.—*nil amplius*, etc. Corte understood this, very naturally, that he *knew* no more than the envoys did of the conspiracy ; but that he had *heard*, etc. We would understand an *igitur* with *nil amplius*, as is so often done. Kritz, however, with his usual dogmatism, asserts, that Herzog's explanation of the passage is the only true one, sc. *se præterquam quod legatos sciat conjurationis participes esse nullum plane ex conjuratis nosse*, and he shows from Cic. ad Fam. iv. 4 ; xiv. 3 ; Nep. Alcib. 1, that *nil* is used of persons, a thing of which certainly no one can doubt.—2. *dissimulantem*, i. e. pretending ignorance or innocence.—*regnum*, *ῥεγαννίς*, the supreme power : see on v. 6.—*Cinnam* : Hist. of Rome, p. 343, seq.—*antea*, sc. *fuisse*, from the following *esse*.—*fatum*, the part. of *fari*, pronounced, i. e. destined.—*urbis potiri*, i. e. *regnum obtinere*.—*ab incenso*, etc. A. U. 669 : Hist. of Rome, p. 348.—*haruspices*. Herzog's derivation of this word from *ἱεροσκόπος* is very probable.—3. *cognovissent*, i. e. *agnovissent*, but

stronger.—*abdicato*, etc. Because the person of a magistrate was sacred. Cicero (Cat. iii. 6) on this occasion says, that Marius had had no scruple at putting the prætor Glaucia to death; but Marius did no such thing, if the extant authorities be correct: see Hist. of Rome, p. 328.—*liberis*, etc. The *libera custodia*, ἀδεσμος φυλακή, was the committing a prisoner of importance to the charge of some town or individual, who became answerable for him, and by whom he was guarded rather than confined.—*haberentur*. Orelli follows the MSS., which read *habeantur*.

XLVIII. 1. *nimis*, i. e. *valde*, a usual sense of this word.—*Ciceronem*, etc. The senate decreed a supplication in his name, the first, as he says (Cat. iii. 6, 10), ever decreed to a *togaed* citizen.—*gaudium*, etc. There is a gradation in these words. *Cum ratione animus movetur placide atque constanter, tum illud gaudium dicitur; cum autem inaniter et effuse animus exsultat, tum illa lætitia gestiens vel nimia dici potest*, Cic. Tusc. iv. 6. We have elsewhere (see on Virg. Geor. i. 1) given it as our opinion, that the original sense of *lætus* was *fertile*. Thus Mela says (ii. 5), *est magis culta et magis consita, ideoque etiam lætior*; and (i. 10), *Arabia . . . illic magis læta et ditior thure atque odoribus abundat*.—2. *usu cotidiano*, i. e. furniture, utensils.—*cultu*, clothes, dress.—3. *Post eum diem*, i. e. the next day (4th).—*aiebant*, indef. ἔφασαν, *on disait*.—4. *jussus*, sc. *fide pub. data*.—*edicere*, to declare fully.—*eadem*, etc. But Volturcius does not appear to have told any of these things.—*hostium*, i. e. Catilina and Manlius: see xxxvi. 2.—*ex conjuratione*, i. e. out of the body of the conspirators: comp. xxiii. 1.—*deprehensi terrentur*, i. e. *deprehensio Lentuli . . . terreret*.—5. *rati*, sc. *sunt*.—*tanta vis hominis*, i. e. *homo tantæ vis*.—*quam*, i. e. *magis quam*.—*obnoxii*, bound to him, in his power. On account of the money they owed him.—*referatur*: see on xxix. 1.—6. *consulente*, putting the question.—*potestatem*, sc. *indicandi*. From the following *indicaret*.—7. *adpellato*, i. e. *citato* (a legal term), brought into the business.—*per*, i. e. *propter*.—8. *inmissum* (sc. *Crasso*), set on.—9. *prædicantem*, asserting openly and frequently.

XLIX. 1. *Sed*, i. e. But be that as it may.—*C. Piso*, sc. *Calpurnius*, consul A. U. 685. He was defended by Cicero in the cause presently to be mentioned.—*pretio*. We are not to suppose that they attempted to bribe him. *Pretio* is joined with the preceding words in a kind of formula, which is like our *by no manner of means*: see Auct. ad Herenn. iii. 3.—2. *exercebat*.

This is the usual term in cases of this kind : comp. ix. 2 ; li. 16 ; Cic. Div. iv. 13 ; Liv. xxix. 17.—*oppugnatus*, i. e. vehemently and perseveringly attacked, hard pressed. Cæsar, it would appear, had prosecuted Piso for his conduct in the government of Citerior Gaul, and had urged strongly against him his unjust execution of a native of that province, just as Cicero urges similar acts against Verres.—*Catulus*, etc. : see Hist. of Rome, p. 389.—*marumis*, etc., i. e. the consulate, etc.—*adulescentulo*. Cæsar was then six-and-thirty : see on iii. 3.—*discesserat*, sc. *a campo*, the proper term : see on Hor. Ep. ii. 2, 99.—3. *privatim*, etc., i. e. by his private extravagance and by his public prodigality ; the friendly historian, we may see, softens matters : see Hist. of Rome, pp. 388, 389.—*muneribus*, public shows, etc.—*magnam pecuniam*. This is an unusual expression. Cicero, however (Or. ii. 67), uses *maximas pecunias*.—4. *Sed ubi*, etc. Cæsar, however, either really had a knowledge of the plot, or Cicero thought that he had ; for, writing to his son many years after, he says (Off. ii. 24) of Cæsar, and alluding to these times : *At vero hic nunc victor, tum quidem victus, quæ cogitaret ea perfecit, cum ejus jam nihil interesset*, meaning that he had hoped to get rid of his debts at that time.—*invidiam* : see on xxii. 8.—*conflaverant* : see on xxiv. 3. This seems to us to be another of the places where Sallust, like the poets, uses the pluperf. for the perf.—*mobilitate*. The usual reading is *nobilitate*, which is that of several MSS. The present is given by Herzog, Kritiz, and Orelli, and when we consider the historian's predilection for Cæsar, it seems the more probable one. It looks like a sneer at the *equites*.—*egredienti*, etc. This was probably on the 5th.

L. 1. *Dum hæc*, etc., i. e. what he had related in xlviii : see on xxix. 1.—*et dum*, etc. This was on the 4th ; Cic. Cat. iv. 3.—*liberti*, sc. *Lentuli*.—*divorsis itineribus*, i. e. going about in different directions.—*solicitabant* : see on xxxvi. 1.—*duces*. In all great towns the rabble have certain persons whom, from their superior talents, or rather their superior audacity, they recognise as their leaders.—*multitudinum*. This is, we believe, a singular instance of the use of this word in the plural. He uses it to express the different divisions (*clubs* and *unions* we have termed them, Hist. of Rome, p. 395) into which the *opifices* and *servitia*, just mentioned, were divided.—*qui pretio*, etc. The services of these men were always to be had for money. Thus we find them constantly at the devotion of Cicero's enemy, Clodius.—2. *familiam*, i. e. his slaves.—*lectos*, i. e. *eximios, præstantes* ; as

we might say, picked, first-rate. *It* also governs in *audaciam*, which is i. q. *ad audacia facinora*. *In* for *ad* is not uncommon. *In eandem rem accommodari*, Cic. Div. ii. 54. *Cœpit collegas in suos mores formare*, Liv. iii. 36.—*ad sese*, i. e. into the house of Cornificius : see xlvii. 4.—3. *convocato Senatu*, sc. *in ædem Concordiæ*. It is not said expressly any where that this was the place ; but all probability is in favour of it : see Cic. Ph. ii. 46 ; pro Sext. 12 ; ad Att. ii. 1. The day was the Nones (5th) of December.—*refert* : see xlviii. 5.—*paullo ante*, i. e. on the 3rd, when they were given into custody.—*contra*, etc., i. e. *perduelles esse*, to have committed treason. It was the usual formula.—*D. Junius*. He was married to Servilia, the step-sister of Cato, and mother of the celebrated M. Brutus, by her former husband, M. Junius Brutus.—4. *primus*, etc. This was the rule : see Appian, B. C. ii. 5 ; Tac. Ann. iii. 22.—*supplicium*, sc. *sumum, ultimum*.—*decreverat*. This, and the two following pluperfects, must be taken as perfects ; for Cæsar had not yet spoken.—*pedibus*, etc., i. e. as we say, he would *divide* with Nero, support his motion. A usual way of taking the votes in the Roman senate, as in the British parliament, was by a division.—*quod de ea re*, etc. This place is hard to understand. It seems to mean, that they should not proceed at once to pass sentence, but wait till they had such forces as would secure them against Catilina, when they could act with greater safety : see Appian ii. 5. *Non oportere ante de republ. ad senatum referri quam delectus tota Italia habiti et exercitus conscripti essent, quo præsidio tute ac libere senatus quæ vellet decernere auderet*, Cæs. Bell. Civ. i. 2. Nero spoke after Cæsar.—5. *Sed Cæsar*, etc. Beside Silanus and his colleague Murena, fourteen consulars had spoken : see Dru-
mann, v. 506. The following speeches of Cæsar and Cato are not probably the exact speeches which they made (though there were short-hand writers in the Roman senate), but such as Sal-
lust, who knew the manner, of each and the substance of what they had said, made for them, just as Thucydides made those of Pericles.

LI. 2. *Haud facile*, sc. *nam*.—*providet*, foresees, discerns.—*paruit*, an aorist.—3. *intenderis* (sc. *aliquo*), indef.—*ingenium*, i. q. *animus*.—4. *male*, sc. *sibi*.—*recte*, etc. This seems to have been a usual formula to express right conduct. Cicero uses it, pro Rosc. Amer. 48.—*Ordine* is the abl. instr.—5. *Bello*, etc. : see Hist. of Rome, p. 263.—*Perse*. The Romans made the Greek Περσεύς, Perses, like Achilles, etc. Livy was the first to use the

Greek form of this name.—*quæ populi*, etc.: see Hist. of Rome, p. 259.—*inceptum*, sc. *contra eos*, if they had made war on the Rhodians.—6. *quom sæpe*, etc. We can never believe anything the Romans say when Carthage is the subject: see Hist. of Rome, Part III., *passim*.—*per occasionem*, i. e. *occasione oblata*. See, however, the account of the third Punic war.—7. *iræ vostræ*, sc. *cedatis*. By zeugma: see Excursus I. 12.—8. *Nam si digna*, etc.: comp. Hor. Ep. i. 7, 24, in our note on which we omitted to refer to this place.—*reperitur*. This seems to be i. q. *reperienda est*. We might have expected *quæritur*.—*novom*. Because it was not usual to put a Roman citizen to death.—*his*, sc. *pœnis*.—9. *Plerique*, etc.: see on l. 5.—*composite*, etc., i. e. in well-arranged language, full of images.—*magnifice*: see on ix. 2.—*sævitia esset*, sc. *direre*. By zeugma.—10. *conjuratoni*, i. e. *conjuratis*.—*Scilicet*, Ironic.—11. *sux*, i. e. *ipsi illatæ*.—*habuere*, an aorist.—12. *demissi*, sunk, as we say.—*vitam habent*, i. e. *vivunt*.—*fama*, sc. *nam*.—*pares sunt*, i. e. are alike obscure.—*ætatem agunt*, i. q. *vitam habent*. *Ætas* is, however, more dignified than *vita*, which is used even of plants.—13. *studere*, i. e. *favere*.—14. *quæ*, sc. *nam*.—15. *ego*. The use of this pron. is Sallustian, not Cæsarian: see Excursus I. 13.—*facinora*, sc. *mereant*. By a slight zeugma.—*in*, etc., i. e. in the case of.—*inpiis*. So they were termed who failed in their duty to the gods, their country, and their parents.—16. *fortem ac strenuum*. These words are frequently thus used in conjunction, sometimes of military men, as Liv. xxviii. 40; Nep. Epam. 7; Datam. 7; Cato ap. Gell. iii. 7; at other times of civilians, as in this place and Liv. i. 34; Cic. Ph. viii. 4; Hor. Ep. i. 7, 46. For *fortis* see on xii. 5.—*modestiam*, i. e. *moderationem*.—17. *aliena*, etc., i. e. unconstitutional.—18. *injuria*, i. e. *gravitas delicti*. *Ut furæ sic tuæ tibi incurrunt injuriæ, quæ te respirare non sinunt*, Cic. Parad. 2.—*novom*, i. e. *insolitum*: comp. § 8.—19. *timore*, i. q. *metu*, § 18.—20. *res habet*, sc. *in se*, is the real fact, i. e. that there is no future state.—*curæ*, uneasiness, pain.—21. *Sed*, etc., Ironic.—*non addidisti*, did you not put.—*verberibus animadvorti*, i. e. *virgis cædi*. It was originally the practice at Rome to scourge a criminal before he was executed: see Liv. ii. 5; xxviii. 29. In 555, four years after the conclusion of the second Punic war, the tribune, P. Porcius Læca, had a law passed, forbidding, under a heavy penalty, to scourge or put to death any Roman citizen. There had been three Valerian laws previously passed on the subject, but without a penalty annexed: see Liv. x. 9.—22. *aliæ leges*. He probably means the Sempronian of

C. Gracchus : see Hist. of Rome, p. 302 ; or the ancient laws in general.—*exilium* : see Hist. of Rome, p. 83.—24. *timere*, to respect, observe. *Aures pudica conjugis solas timet*, Sen. Hip. 874.—25. *At enim*, but then.—*parricidas* : see on xxxi. 8.—*dies*. This word, which is often i. q. *tempus*, seems to be used here to give more effect. Not merely time in general, but every day, etc.—*fortuna*, i. e. a change of public circumstances. It may be an allusion by the historian to the time of Cæsar's own sole dominion.—*gentibus*, dat.—27. *exempla*, i. e. acts of such importance as to become precedents.—*novom* : see § 18.—*dignis*, sc. *pœna*.—*idoneos*, sc. *ad pœnam*.—*indignos*, i. e. *non dignos*.—28. *Lacedæmonii*, etc. : see Hist. of Greece, Part II. ch. xi.—29. *ea*, i. e. *ad ea*, sc. *facta* : comp. xxxi. 8. The pl. as they were many.—30. *licentia*, sc. *eorum*. It here means their consciousness of security and impunity.—32. *Nostra*, etc. : see Hist. of Rome, p. 349, *seq.*—33. *domum*, sc. *Romæ*, a mansion.—34. *trahebantur*, sc. *ad mortem*.—*explevit*, i. e. *expleverat*? by the poetic enallage.—35. *in M. Tullio* : comp. § 19.—*ingenia*, i. e. minds, tempers, dispositions.—36. *per Senati decretum* : see xxix. 2.—37. *proba*, i. e. *probata*, *probabilia*, good, to be approved of.—38. *Arma*, etc., sc. *pleraque*. This is mentioned no where else, and we know not what they could have borrowed in this way at that time. Glareanus would read *ab Sabinis*, and perhaps it was that people that Cæsar meant.—*insignia*, etc. ; see Liv. i. 8 ; Dionys. iii. 84.—*quod ubique* (i. e. *et ubi*), whatever and wherever.—*exsequebantur*, they followed it out, i. e. imitated.—*imitari*, sc. *nam bonos*.—*bonis*, sc. *ad aliquam rem*. It is not a neuter, as Corte takes it.—39. *Sed*, etc. : see on § 21. This was not the fact, it was a mere coincidence of usage, like so many other things between the Greeks and Romans.—40. *Postquam*, etc. From this reasoning of Cæsar's it appears that it was almost, if not quite, exclusively to political offences that the Porcian and similar laws applied. Certainly parricides, murderers, highwaymen, and such like, were at all times executed.—*factiones*, i. e. political parties.—*circumveniri* : see on xvi. 3.—42. *Profecto*, sc. *nam*, beyond question.—*illis*, etc., i. e. the men of the republic who passed the Valerian and Porcian laws, and therefore we should make *them* our example.—43. *et*, sc. *sic*.—*publicandas*, etc., i. e. that their properties should be confiscated. *Publicari* is *reducere in publicum*, sc. *ærarium*.—*per* (i. e. *in*), sc. *ea*.—*cum populo agat*, i. e. bring before the popular assemblies.—*Senatum existumare*. This was the usual expression. This decision of the senate was to be part of the decree, and

hence he uses the fut. part.—*contra*, etc. Another usual formula, intimating that he was an enemy to the state : see l. 3 ; Liv. x. 9.

LII. 1. *Verbo*, i. e. orally, saying more or less. It was the only mode they had in that stage of the debate.—*alii* (dat.), to one or other, i. e. to Cæsar or Silanus. Cicero's fourth Catilinarian was one of the speeches delivered before that of Cato, and this very circumstance might lead us to suspect that it is not genuine, for we cannot recollect an instance of consuls thus speaking in the course of the debate. Cicero, however, did speak on this day (ad Att. ii. 1), but probably not till after Cato. On the whole, we are, for many reasons, which this is not the place to state, inclined to agree with Orelli and those who regard the first Catilinarian alone as genuine. Claudius Nero also spoke before Cato : see l. 4.—*M. Porcius Cato*. He was tribune-elect : see Hist. of Rome, Index, Porcius (3).—2. *Longe*, etc. Either Cato or Sallust had in view the following opening words of one of the speeches of Demosthenes (Olynth. iii.) : *Ὅχι ταῦτα παρίσταται μοι γινώσκειν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅταν τε εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέψω καὶ ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους οὗς ἀκούω. Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους περὶ τοῦ τιμωρῆσθαι Φίλιππον ὁρῶ γιγνομένους κ.τ.λ.*—*res*, the real state of things.—3. *aris atque focis*. We agree with Corte and those who, in this very frequent expression, see the public altars and the private hearths where the offerings were made to the family Lar. Kritz follows Ernesti (Clav. Cic. v. ara), who says that both belong to the private house, the *ara* being in the *impluvium*, and used in the worship of the Penates. We cannot tell where he learned that an *ara* stood in the *impluvium* of a Roman house. It is, surely, not to be inferred from places like Virg. *Æn.* ii. 512.—*cavere*, sc. *nobis*.—4. *persequare*, indef.—*capta*, sc. *nam*.—5. *tabulas*, sc. *pictas*.—*ista*, etc. Expressing the contempt he felt for such luxuries.—*capessite rempublicam*, i. e. attend to and act vigorously in the affairs of state.—6. *de vectigalibus* : comp. Jug. xxxi. 25. *Equites Romani . . . interceptis vectigalibus, peculabantur suo jure rempublicam*, Flor. iii. 17.—*de sociorum injuriis*, i. e. it is not a case *rerum repetundarum*, as that of Catilina had been in 687 ; see v. l.—7. *Sæpe numero*. This answers to our *often and often*.—8. *Qui*, i. e. *nam ego qui mihi*, etc. This is a kind of oratorical *ἐν δὲ ἑαυτοῖς*, to my own self, emphatically.—*gratiam*, i. e. *veniam*, with which it is sometimes joined : comp. Jug. civ. 5.—*condonabam*, an intensive of *dono*. *Ne patiamini M. Cælium libidini muliebri condonatum*, Cic. pro

Cæl. 32.—9. *ea*, sc. *verba*.—*firma*, i. e. *valida*, *munita*.—*opulentia*, i. e. *opum copia*, power, greatness : see on vi. 3.—10. *hæc*, sc. *quæ habemus*, the things included in *imperium*.—11. *Hic*, here now ; with a tone of indignant contempt.—*mihi*, the ethic dat.—*quisquam*, some one, i. e. Cæsar.—*nominat*, talks of.—*amissimus*, we have sent away, i. e. have ceased to use : comp. Thuc. iii. 82.—*malarum rerum*, i. e. *in malis rebus*.—12. *Sint sane*, etc., i. e. those who choose to be so. There is not perhaps any particular allusion to Cæsar.—*liberales*, etc. : see § 6.—*illi*, those merciful persons. This is the reading of the MSS. followed by Kritz and Orelli ; the others read *illis*, which would naturally refer to *fures ærari*.—*perditum cant* : see on xxxvi. 4.—13. *composite* : see li. 9.—*credo*, I suppose.—*inferis*, the dead, the departed.—*divorso*, etc. These are Grecian ideas, first found, we believe, in Plato. The ancient Roman ideas on this subject were, we think, different : see Ovid. Fast. Excurs. IV.—*divorso itinere*. 'Εν τῇ τριόδῳ ἐξ ἧς φέρετον τῷ ὁδῷ, ἡ μὲν ἐς μακάρων νήσους, ἡ δ' εἰς τάραρον, Plat. Gorg. 524 : comp. Cic. Tusc. i. 30.—*loca tetra*, etc. *Acherusia templa alta Orci, salvete, infera Pallida, Lethæa, obnubila tenebris, loca !* Enn. Androm. ap. Cic. Tusc. i. 21 : comp. Catull. iii. 11.—*habere*, i. e. *habitare* : see on vi. 1.—14. *videlicet*, Ironic.—*popularibus*, members, confederates.—*multitudine* : see l. 1.—16. *sin in tanto*, etc. Covertly, hinting at Cæsar's share in the plot.—17. *Quare*, i. e. from this anxiety of Cæsar's to save their lives.—18. *attentius* (sc. *ad rem*), i. e. *diligentius*, *acrius*.—*modo*, only.—*languere*, relax, give way ; by voting with Cæsar or Nero.—*feroces*, i. q. *ferociter*, as in the poets.—*aderunt*, i. e. *urgebunt* : comp. Jug. l. 4.—19. *armis*, sc. *solummodo*.—20. *pulcherrimam*, i. e. *optimam* : see on Virg. Geor. ii. 534.—21. *industria*, attention to public affairs.—*obnoxius* : see on xlviii. 5.—22. *laudamus*. Cato seems to use this verb in the same sense as we have shown that it is used by Horace (see on Ep. i. 10, 6, *et alib.*), i. e. greatly preferring, esteeming above all things. It is a Hellenism, this being one of the senses of *ἐπαίνω*.—*sequimur*, we pursue, try to obtain.—*omnia*, etc., i. e. what should be the reward of merit, the consulate, etc.—*ambitio*, electioneering artifices.—23. *pecuniæ*. Alluding probably to the obligations many of them were under to Crassus : see xlviii. 5.—*gratiæ*, interest, personal influence.—*vacuam*, sc. *defensoribus*.—*omitto*, pass over.—24. *incendere*, i. e. *ad incendendam*. A Græcism : comp. Hor. Carm. i. 15, 6.—*supra caput est*, is over our heads, ready to come down on us : comp. Liv. iii. 17.—26. *censeo*, I advise you. Ironic.—27. *Ne*,

i. e. *certe, profecto*.—*vortet* : see on vi. 7.—28. *Sciñcet*, no doubt.—*aspera*, i. e. *dura, difficilis* : comp. x. 2.—*maxime*, sc. *timetis*.—*videlicet*. With contempt.—29. *Non*, i. e. *at non*.—*supplicius* : see on ix. 2.—*vigilando*, sc. *sed*.—*prospera*, i. q. *prosperare*.—30. *T. Manlius*, etc. : see Hist. of Rome, p. 138.—*bello Gallico*. This, as will be seen, is a slip of the historian's memory. He was thinking of the time when Manlius got his title of Torquatus; Ib. p. 128.—31. *inmoderate*, unrestrained.—*vita cetera*, their preceding course of life.—32. *si ipse*, etc. : see xiv. 7.—33. *nisi iterum* (*nisi*, i. q. *si non*), if this has not been his second offence of this kind : see on xvii. 3.—34. *pensi* : see on v. 6.—35. *mehercule*, sc. *juvet*.—*peccato*, i. e. *errori*.—*esset*, sc. *vobis salvis*.—*ipsa re*, by experience.—*faucibus urget* (see § 24), is aiming at our throats.—*occulte*, i. e. without its coming to their knowledge. He may be again hinting at Cæsar.—36. *manifestis*, with a gen. : comp. Jug. xxxv. 8. *Manifestam mendacii, mala, te teneo*, Plaut. Truc. i. 2, 30.—*more majorum*, i. e. capitally.

LIII. 1. *Postquam*, etc. It is remarkable that Sallust makes no mention of the speech of Cicero on this occasion. Yet we know that he spoke ; see on lii. 1 : perhaps not till after the sentence had been passed, when he may have complimented the senate on their wisdom and courage, and shown the necessity of carrying it at once into execution.—2. *Sed*, now.—*attendere*, sc. *animum*.—3. *Sciebam*, etc. None of these events are recorded in the histories of Rome which have come down to us : see on vii. 7.—*legionibus*, i. e. *exercitibus* : see on Hor. Sat. i. 6, 4.—*opulentis*, powerful.—*fortunæ violentiam*. As the taking of Rome by the Gauls, the wars with Pyrrhus and Hannibal, etc.—*gloria*, etc. This was surely not the fact, unless he means in the early days of the republic.—*ante*, before, i. e. superior to. Sallust is the earliest writer in whom the word occurs in this sense.—4. *agitantis*, sc. *mente*.—*constabat*. This verb is intensive of *sto*. It was clear, certain.—*paucorum*, etc., i. e. the Scipios, Metelli, and others.—*divitias*, etc. These nouns are all abstracts for concretes. Comp. § 3.—5. *rursus*, i. e. *contra*, again, on the other hand.—*res publica*, etc. : comp. lii. 9.—*ac*, while.—*effeta*, sc. *corpora*.—*parentum* (i. e. *parentium*), sc. *mulierum*.—*multis tempestatibus*, for many years. The whole passage is very awkwardly expressed. After *effeta parentum* we would understand *faciunt*. He should then have said, *haud sane Roma tulit aliquem virtute magnum* ; but instead of doing so he altered the turn of the sentence : see on Hor. Sat. i. 3, 120, and the notes of Stroth and Raschig on Liv.

i. 1. Kritz adopts the conjecture of Corte, *effelæ parentum*.—6. *moribus*, i. e. mental habits and modes of action. When *mores* answers to our *morals*, *bonus* or some such adj. is expressed or understood.—*fuere*. This proves that it was after the death of Cæsar that Sallust wrote.—*obtulerat, fuit*. Cicero or Cæsar would have written *obtulit* and *est*; but that was too simple and natural for our author.—*quin aperirem*, i. e. *sed aperire*. Another of his out-o'-the-way turns.

LIV. 1. *Igitur his*. Cicero would have said, *His igitur*.—*genus*, family, birth. But that of Cæsar was superior.—*ætas*. Cæsar was six or seven years the elder.—*gloria*, reputation, the French *gloire*.—*alia*, sc. *gloria*.—*alii*, a dat.—2. *beneficius*, etc., i. e. by serving individuals, and by giving shows (*munera*) to the people: comp. xlix. 3.—*integritate*, i. e. *innocentia*, sc. in regard to money. Otherwise there would not be a proper opposition. *Cujus* (Catonis) *integritatem laudari nefas est*, Vell. ii. 45; where the word is evidently used in this sense.—*severitas*, seriousness, gravity: see on Virg. Geor. iii. 37. It is frequently joined with *tristitia*, which has nearly the same signification.—3. *ignoscendo*. This refers to the time of the civil war and his supreme power.—*constantia*, steadiness; which, however, he carried to a fault.—4. *in animum*, etc., had resolved; had, as we say, made up his mind.—*dono dignum*, i. e. *pro dono dignum*, worth giving: comp. li. 8.—*novum*, new, i. e. great, extraordinary: comp. iv. 3; li. 18. He had the Gallic wars in his mind. Kritz understands by it, war after war.—*virtus*, i. e. his mental powers.—5. *modestiae*, moderation.—*decoris*, τοῦ πρῆποντος, i. e. *honestatis*.—*factione*, party-spirit: see on Jug. xxxi. 15.—*strenuo*. This word, which is so frequently joined with *fortis*, is, as already observed, of nearly the same signification with it, both relating to mental vigour.—*innocente abstinentia*. These both, as we have often observed, relate to money-matters.—*esse*, etc. Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν δίκαιος ἀλλ' εἶναι θεῖος, Æsch. Sept. adv. Th. 592.—*magis*, sc. *ea illum*. Some MSS. insert *illum* or *illam*, and some read *assequebatur*.

LV. 1. *discessit*: see l. 4.—*antecapere*, to anticipate: comp. Jug. xxi. 3.—*eo spatio*, sc. *temporis*, i. e. *nocte*.—*novaretur*, sc. *a sociis damnatorum*: see l. 1.—*triumviros*, sc. *capitales*, who had charge of the prison, of executions, etc., somewhat like our sheriffs.—2. *carcerem*. For the Carcer, and a full explanation of what follows, see the Excursus on this place.—*deducit*. As the Carcer was on the level of the Forum, and the house of Lentulus Spinther, whither Cicero must have gone to fetch the prisoner,

was on the Palatine ; Plut. Cic. 22.—*idem fit*, etc. There were four prisoners ; and as there were four prætors then in the city, viz. Pomptinius, Flaccus, Metellus Celer, and C. Sulpicius, it is probable that each took charge of a prisoner.—3. *ascenderis*. This is the reading of the great majority of the MSS., and is, we think, the only one that gives sense to the passage ; see the Excursus *ad fin.* Some read *descenderis*, which the editors in general have adopted.—4. *camera*, etc., i. e. an arched roof of stone.—*odore*, sc. *malo*. Just as we ourselves say *a smell* : see on ii. 9.—*incultu*, i. e. for want of cleaning out.—5. *vindices*, etc., i. e. *carnifices*.—*laqueo*, etc., i. e. strangled.—6. *De Cethego*, etc. For other circumstances omitted by Sallust, see Hist. of Rome, p. 383.

LVI. 1. *Copia*, i. e. *multitudo*.—*instituit*, formed. A usual sense of this verb —*cohortis*, etc., i. e. there were the usual number of cohorts to the legion, but each did not contain its full complement of men.—2. *ex sociis*, sc. *conjuratiōis*.—*numero*, sc. *justo*.—3. *sparos*. The *sparus* was some kind of spear or lance used both by hunters and soldiers : see Varro and Sisenna *ap.* Non. 18, 21 ; Liv. xxxiv. 15 ; Virg. *Æn.* xi. 682.—4. *in Galliam versus*, etc. *Castra ... movet in Arvernōs versus*, Cæs. Bell. Gall. vii. 8. *Versus* is a præposition.—*Galliam*, sc. *Cisalpinam*.—*sperabat*, sc. *nam*.—5. *cujus*. As if he had written *servitium*, or rather, sc. *generis hominum*.—*rationibus*, plans.

LVII. 1. *Plerique*, etc. Plutarch (Cic. 16) and Appian (ii. 7) say that his forces had amounted to 20,000 men ; but that could not have been the case, or he would have formed more than two legions.—*per montis*, etc. This, as usual, is exaggeration ; for the distance could not have been more than from twenty to thirty miles, and the hills there are not very high. It was, however, winter, which the historian never mentions. — *tramites*, i. e. ways through the mountains.—[*Transalpinam*]. We bracket this word with Gerlach and Orelli, though it is found in nearly all the MSS. Two read *Cisalpinam* ; one has only *Galliam*, which is the reading of Corte and Kritz. It is the general opinion that his object was to get to the Allobroges ; but we see not what reason he could have to rely on them, who probably knew nothing of himself or his cause. We rather think that his object was to get down on the other side of the Apennines into the neighbourhood of Bologna, whither Antonius would hardly follow him at that season.—2. *præsidebat* : see xxx. 5. — *ex* (i. e. *propter*), etc. sc. *Catilinæ*, the straits which he must be in.—3. *iter*, sc. *propositum*.—*castra*, etc., i. e. he marched from

Picenum along the Flaminian road to Ariminum, and then he took the Æmilian road, which led straight to Bologna, where we suppose Catilina to have meditated his descent from the mountains.—4. *procul aberat*, sc. *ab agro Pistoriensi*.—*magno exercitu*, i. e. though he had a large army.—*locis*, etc. He probably moved along the vales of the Arno and the Ombrone, while Catilina went through the hills.—*expeditus*. The baggage was, of course, left at Fæsulæ or some other place. Most MSS. read *expeditos*, which Gerlach adopts.—*in fuga*, sc. *qui erant*, i. e. *fugientes*, οἱ ἐν φυγῇ? like οἱ ἐν τάλει. We are to recollect that the battle was fought near Pistoria, and it is not hinted that Catilina had retraced his steps.—5. *montibus*, etc., i. e. he was in the mountains, and there was an army at each side of them.—*præsidii*, i. e. *subsidii*, *auxilii*: comp. lviii. 4.—*cum Antonio*. As he was the nearest, and as perhaps he had some hopes that he would not press him so hard as Metellus would.—*quam primum*, at once.—6. *hujuscemodi*, to this effect; for Sallust had no means of knowing what he really did say on this occasion. Sallust, who is little attentive to the *minutiæ* of chronology, does not give us any information as to the exact time of this engagement. From Dion (xxxvii. 39) we learn that it was at the beginning of the year 690; most probably in the month of January, as Cicero says (pro Sext. 5) that it was *in hieme*, and spring began V Id. (9th) Febr.: see Ov. Fast. 149 seq.

LVIII. 1. *Virtutem*, courage.—*addere*. It may not be useless to observe that *addo* is i. q. *do*, as *give to* i. q. *give*.—2. *audacia*, i. e. *virtus*, boldness, courage.—*moribus*, i. e. education, acquired habits.—*hortere*. Indef.—*timor* (sc. *nam*), etc. *Animi* may appear superfluous in this place, but it was the usage of the Romans, particularly of Sallust (comp. ii. 3; liii. 1; Jug. vii. 7; lvii. 5) to add *animus* to its qualities. Here, however, the sense is that the internal fear impedes the action of the external sense.—3. *Sed*, etc., i. e. my reason, etc., then is this.—*causam*, the reason.—*consili*, i. e. of giving battle at once: see lvii. 5.—4. *iuxta mecum*, as well as myself. This phrase occurs frequently in Plautus, but no where else that we can recollect.—5. *ab urbe*, on the side of the city.—*animus ferat*, sc. *id facere*. *In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas*, Ov. Met. i. 1.—6. *tuta*, secured.—*abunde*, sc. *erit*.—*colonix, municipia*: see Hist. of Rome, pp. 65, 82.—7. *metu*, i. q. *metui*. Or it may be the abl.—8. *necessitudo*: see on xvii. 2.—*impendet*. Kritz sees a kind of zeugma here, as *impendet* does not properly apply to *illis*.—*pro patria*, i. e. to recover it, as we are now outlawed.—*supervacaneum*, etc., i. e. As they

have already all that we are seeking for, it is a mere work of supererogation in them, etc.—*pro potentia*, etc. : comp. xx. 7.—*paucorum*, τῶν ὀλίγων, the oligarchs.—12. *memores*, etc. : comp. lx. 7 ; Jug. xlix. 2 ; Cæs. B. G. vii. 62. It seems to have been a usual formula. Here it may be chiefly addressed to the old soldiers : comp. § 18.—13. *vobis*. Corte and Gerlach follow the majority of the MSS. in reading *nobis*. *Vobis*, i. e. most of you.—*turpitudine*. *Turpitude*, the opposite of *honestas*, is meanness, poverty.—*exilio*, i. e. place of exile : comp. xxxiv. 2.—*alienas*, etc., look for support from others, become poor mean dependents : comp. Jug. xiv. 7. *Alienæ opes, id quod miserrimum est, non expectat*, Cic. pro Quinct. 15.—14. *æda*, i. e. *turpia*.—*hæc*, i. e. *arma*, etc.—15. *nemo*, sc. *nam*.—17. *qui*, i. e. *is qui*.—*habetur*, i. e. *est* : see on i. 4.—21. *fortuna inviderit*. Πᾶν τὸ θεῖον φθονηρόν, Herod. iii. 40. *Ne hostes quidem sepulturæ invident*, Tac. Ann. i. 22. *Africæ solo oleum et vinum natura invidet*, Plin. N. H. xv. 2 : comp. Virg. Buc. vii. 58 ; Æn. iv. 234 ; viii. 509 ; xi. 269 ; Hor. Sat. i. 2, 100 ; ii. 6, 84.—*cavete*, sc. *ne*.—*sicuti*, etc. : comp. Liv. xxv. 17.

LIX. 1. *Jubet*, sc. *tubicines* : comp. Jug. xcix. 1.—*instructos*, in marching order ; not in line of battle.—*æquom*, level.—*remotis*, etc. Cæsar did the same on one occasion, B. G. i. 25.—*animus*, i. e. *virtus*, *audacia*.—*pedes*, on foot. *Per medias Africæ solitudines, pedes duxit* (Cato) *exercitum*, Sen. Ep. 104.—*pro loco*, according to the nature of the ground.—2. *planities*, i. e. *locus æquus*, § 1.—*inter sinistros montis*, within (on this side of) the hills on the left.—*ab dextera*, on the right : comp. lviii. 6.—*rupis aspera*, sc. *erat*. Corte and Gerlach read *rupe*, with the majority of the MSS.—*reliqua signa*, i. e. *reliquas cohortes*. It is thus that Kritz reads with Corte and seven MSS. ; the rest have *reliquorum*, or *-arum*, which last is adopted by the other editors. *Signa, vexilla*, and *aquilæ*, are constantly used for the troops under them.—*in subsidio*, as a reserve.—*artius*, i. e. drawn up more closely ; as they were not to extend beyond the front rank.—3. *Ab his*, out of these.—*evocatos*, i. e. the old soldiers, the veterans.—*armatum*, i. e. who had arms ; see lvi. 3.—*Fæsulenum*. Perhaps P. Furius : see l. 4 ; Cic. Cat. iii. 6.—*curare*, to take charge, command : comp. Jug. xlvi. 7 ; lvii. 2 ; lx. 5.—*libertis*, sc. *suis*. These, of course, were men whom he had trained to desperation, and on whose attachment he could rely.—*colonis*, sc. *Sullanis*.—*propter*, i. e. *prope* : see on Virg. Buc. viii. 87. *Vulcanus tenuit insulas propter Siciliam*, Cic. N. D. iii. 22.—*aquilam*, etc. : see Cic.

Cat. i. 9.—4. *pedibus æger*. Probably from the gout. Dion. (xxxvii. 39) says it was only pretence.—*M. Petreio*. Kritz, Orelli, and others suppose this to be the same person with Pompeius' legate in Spain, who was beaten by Cæsar in 703 (Hist. of Rome, p. 425); but it is more probable that he was a different person, as we find that he had been already for thirty years an officer of rank.—5. *tumulti*. By this word was meant any sudden outbreak which took place in Italy. It was chiefly used of the Gauls who occupied its northern parts: see Cic. Phil. viii. 1.—*conscripterat*, i. e. by the directions of Antonius.—*cernere*, i. q. *decernere*.—6. *Homo militaris*, i. e. a man who had seen service and acquired experience: comp. xlv. 2.—*præfectus*, sc. *equitum sociorum*. It was a higher rank than that of tribune.—*in exercitu*, answering to our, in the army.

LX. 1. *dat*, i. e. *dare facit*.—*idem facit*, etc. If they did so, they would appear to have lost the advantage of their position. This may therefore be only an instance of Sallust's use of established forms.—2. *a ferentariis*. These were the light-armed troops which usually commenced the battle. Their principal weapon was the sling, and their usual place was on the wings: see Fest. s. v. Non. 12, 8; 18, 15; Veget. i. 20; ii. 2. Varro (L. L. vii. 57) speaks of *ferentarii equites* in former times.—*infestis*, sc. *contra hostes*: comp. Cæs. B. G. vii. 51. *Infestus* seems to be i. q. *infertus*, probably a part. of *infero*.—*omittunt*, i. e. do not use: comp. Cæs. B. G. i. 52; vii. 88.—4. *cum expeditis*: see lix. 3. The usual sense of *expeditus* is, without baggage; but that is not its sense in this place.—*accersere*, bring up.—5. *cohortem prætoriam*, his body-guard. It consisted of picked men. It was the origin of the formidable prætorian cohorts of the Empire.—*deinde*, etc., i. e. when they had broken and routed the troops in front, they wheeled and attacked the flanks.—7. *pristinæ dignitatis*, i. e. his prætorship, etc.

LXI. 2. *pugnando*, for fighting, i. e. as his post in the line of battle.—3. *medios*, i. e. in the centre. This is a usual construction. *Medium arripuit Servium*, Liv. i. 48. *Se . . . Aurea composuit sponda mediamque locavit*, Virg. Æn. i. 698.—6. *iuxta*: see on ii. 8.—8. *Multi*, sc. *militum*. Not the *liræ*, and such like. This of course took place on the following day.—9. *lætitia*, etc. We have shown (on xlviii. 1) that *lætitia* exceeds *gaudium*; the same is the relation between *mæror* and *luctus*. *Luctus ægritudo ex ejus qui carus fuerit interitu acerbo*. *Mæror ægritudo flebilis*, Cic. Tusc. iv. 8.

NOTES

ON THE

JUGURTHA.

I. 1. *genus humanum*, mankind, i. e. man.—*ævi brevis*, gen. of quality : comp. Hor. Sat. ii. 6, 97; Liv. xxviii. 37.—*forte*, i. e. *fortuna* : comp. xcii. 6; xciv. 7.—2. *contra*, on the contrary.—*reputando*, i. e. if you duly consider.—*naturæ*, φύσεως, sc. *suæ* : see § 1.—*industriam*, the active exertions : see Cat. lii. 21.—*deesse*, sc. *invenias*.—3. *Sed*, δέ, now.—*virtutis*, i. e. the active powers of the mind : see on Cat. i. 4.—*grassatur*, i. e. *graditur*. He uses the freq. for the simple verb in his usual manner.—*pollens potensque* : see Excursus I. 9 : comp. Liv. i. 24; ii. 34.—*quippe*, etc. Most MSS. read *quippe quæ*, which Kritz adopts, and which is perhaps to be preferred. For this notion of the ancients see on Hor. Ep. i. 18, 111.—*artis bonas* : see on Cat. ii. 4.—4. *captus*, sc. *homo*, included in the preceding *cuiquam*.—*ad*, at, against. The metaphor (for there apparently is one) seems to be taken from a ship's going down by striking against a rock.—*pessum datus est*, he has gone to the bottom, i. e. has sunk totally. *Pessum* is, we think, clearly connected with βυθός, βυσσός, *bottom*.—*naturæ*, sc. *suæ*.—*accusatur*, sc. *ab eo*.—*auctores*, sc. *quom sint ipsi*.—*negotia*, i. e. *res*. A sense of the word familiar to our author.—5. *Quodsi*, i. e. *ob quod si*, for this reason, if.—*multum*, for the most part. An acc. abs. like *plerumque*, *maximam partem*, τὸ πολὺ, τὸ λοιπόν.—*regerentur*, sc. *casibus*, i. e. *forte*, § 1.—*casus*, i. e. the events of life; which appear for the most part to be fortuitous.—*pro*, instead of being.

II. 1. *genus hominum*, i. q. *genus humanum*, i. 1.—*anima*. The Romans made a distinction between *animus* and *anima*, regarding the latter as the principle of life, the former as the complex of the mental powers. But Sallust, as here, and some other writers,

seem to have used them indifferently.—*res cunctæ*, sc. *nostræ*, in the following *nostra*.—2. *præclara facies*, i. e. personal beauty.—3. *fortunæ*, i. e. *divitiæ*, etc.: see on Hor. Ep. i. 5, 12.—*omnia*, sc. *ea*.—*dilabuntur*, sc. *sicuti corpus*.—*animus*, sc. *autem*.—*incorruptus*, ἀφθαρτος, i. e. incapable of dissolution, the *incorruptibiles* of the Fathers of the Church. In imitation probably of the Greek verbal adjective in -τός, as αἰετός, στρεπτός, etc., the Latins, especially Sallust, sometimes used the past part. as equivalent to an adj. in -bilis: comp. xliii. 5; lxxvi. 1; xci. 7; Cat. i. 4. *Non exorato stant adamante viæ*, Prop. iv. 11, 4. *Mare scopulis inaccessum*, Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 14. It is in this sense that *flexus* is to be understood in Virg. *Æn.* v. 500. Such is perhaps its meaning also (though we have asserted the contrary in our Flor. Virg. p. 375) in Geor. iv. 123. In like manner if *flexa* in Geor. i. 169, be taken as *flexible*, i. e. capable of receiving a curvature, it may give a better sense to the passage.—*humani generis*: see § 1.—*agit*, actuates, rules, i. q. *agito* in *Mens agitat molem*, Virg. *Æn.* vi. 727.—*habet*, etc. The well-known ἔχω οὐκ ἔχωμαι of the Greeks.—4. *pravitas*, perversity: see on Cat. v. 1.—*per luxum*, etc., i. e. *luru*, etc.: comp. Cat. xx. 9.—*ætatem agunt*: see Cat. iv. 1.—*incultu*, want of cultivation: comp. Cat. lv. 4.—*artes animi*, i. e. mental pursuits.—*claritudo*, i. q. *claritas*. Words thus terminated are preferred by Sallust, and his follower Tacitus, on account of their fulness and their hue of antiquity.

III. 1. *ex his*, sc. *artibus*.—*magistratus et imperia*. Sallust generally uses these words as identical. We may here, perhaps, understand by the latter, military command.—*postremo*, in short: see on Cat. xv. 5.—*omnis cura*, etc., i. e. a seat in the senate, and such like.—*hac tempestate*, in these days, i. e. in the period between the death of Cæsar and that of the historian himself, who died in 718, four years before the battle of Actium. For these times see the last chapter of our Hist. of Rome.—*virtuti*. Abstract for concrete.—*honos*, i. e. office. *Quo die novi magistratus inituri erant honorem*, Liv. xlii. 22. *Ita quæstor sum factus, ut mihi honorem illum non solum datum sed etiam creditum putem*, Cic. Verr. ii. 5, 14.—*per fraudem*, i. e. *fraudulenter*, by illicit means.—*is*, sc. *honos*. This is the reading of several MSS. followed by Kritz and Orelli. The other editors follow those which read *jus*.—*tuti*, sc. *magis*. Kritz follows the great majority of MSS. in reading *utique tuti*.—*honesti*, i. q. *honestati*, i. e. *honorati*: see on Hor. Sat. i. 6, 96. He is, perhaps, alluding to

Dolabella and others, who obtained the offices of the state after the death of Cæsar, but more probably he had M. Antonius chiefly in view.—2. *vi*, i. e. *non legitime*.—*patriam*, i. e. *Italiam*.—*parentes*, i. e. the subjects, the provincials: see on Cat. vi. 5.—*possis*. Indef.—*et delicta*, etc., i. e. punish evil-doers. Alluding perhaps again to Dolabella; Hist. of Rome, p. 452.—*importunum*, unseasonable, i. e. evil. By litotes.—*rerum*, sc. *publicarum*.—*portendant*, announce and are surely followed by.—3. *quærere*, i. e. *acquirere*, obtain: comp. lxxxv. 30; lxxxvii. 2.—*est*, sc. *actus*.—4. *nisi forte*: see Cat. xx. 17.—*quem*, i. q. *aliquem*. Indef.—*pau-corum*, i. e. probably the triumviri.—*gratificari*, i. e. *gratificandi* (a Hellenism), giving, making a present of.

IV. 1. *negotius*, i. e. *rebus*: see on i. 4.—*usui*, utility, advantage.—*memoria*, etc., i. e. the writing of history. As *memoro* is to relate, so *memoria* is relation.—2. *prætereundum* (sc. *mihi*), to pass over.—*per insolentiam*, i. e. *insolenter*, arrogantly; or, perhaps, out of ignorance. It is not certain whether it applies to himself or to *quis*.—*memet*, etc. We adopt the punctuation and sense given by Corte. The late editors read *memet studium . . . extollere*. *Memet* includes another *me*.—3. *Atque*, sc. *vero*.—*inertix*, mere idleness.—*certe*. With scornful irony.—*salutare plebem*, sc. when looking for their votes: see Hor. Ep. i. 6, 49 seq.—*conviviis*. By this is generally understood the *epulæ* and *viscerationes* given to the people by ambitious men. But we doubt if *convivium* was ever used in that sense, and it may here only mean private entertainments given to persons of influence, such as Cicero speaks of in his Epistles.—4. *quibus ego*, etc. He was a tribune of the people in 700, when his conduct did him no great credit, and he was made one of the prætors by Cæsar, not by the people, in 706; so that he has no very solid grounds for his boasting. We know not who the unsuccessful candidates were to whom he alludes.—*et postea*, etc. From his using the word *postea*, it would appear that he means those placed in the senate by M. Antonius, rather than those put into it by Cæsar (Hist. of Rome, p. 438).—*merito*, i. e. *jure*. Or rather meaning that it was an act for which he deserved praise.—*otio*. He uses this and the following *negotius* ironically.—5. *Q. Maximum*. Probably Fabius Maximus Cunctator, the opponent of Hannibal.—*P. Scipionem*, sc. *Africanum*. Probably the elder.—*præterea*, besides, i. e. *et alios*.—*imagines*, i. e. the waxen busts which they kept in the *atria* of their houses.—6. *Sciñcet* is *scire licet*, it is plain. Kritz makes what follows to be the reflections of those

great men, not of the historian himself, with which we cannot agree.—*eam flammam*. Suggested by the preceding *accendi*.—*virtus*, sc. *sua*.—*eorum*, sc. *majorum*.—7. *his*, i. e. those of the present times.—*quin*, i. e. *qui ne (non)*.—*homines novi*: see on Cat. xxiii. 6.—*qui antea*, etc. Alluding to Marius, and perhaps to Cicero.—*furtim*, i. e. *ut fures*, by stealth.—*per latrocinia*, i. e. *ut latrones*, by violence.—*nituntur*, strive to obtain.—8. *habeantur*, i. e. *sint*: see on Cat. i. 4.—9. *altius*, further back. Perhaps referring to his mention of Maximus and Scipio.—*morum*, sc. *hoc tempore*.—*redeo*, I proceed: see Hor. Excursus IV. Thus Cicero says (ad Fam. xi. 14), *Sed ut ad rem redeam, legionem Martiam et quartam negant . . . ad te posse perduci*, though he had not even hinted at it in the preceding part of his letter.

V. 1. *Scripturus sum*, I am going to write, i. e. I have undertaken to write. He seems here to have the introduction to Thucydides' history in his mind.—*atrox*, bloody: see on Cat. xxix. 2.—*varia victoria*, i. e. victory being sometimes on the one, sometimes on the other side.—*superbiæ nobilitatis*. This is i. q. *superbis nobilibus*, as appears from what follows. *Superbia* here signifies rather tyrannic insolence than our *pride*.—*obviam*, etc., sc. *a plebe*. *Obviam* is *ob viam*, i. q. *ad viam*. *Ob Romam noctu legiones ducere cæpit*, Enn. ap. Fest. v. *Ob*.—2. *quæ*, etc., i. e. the contest which then began, in its progress, etc.—*permiscuit*, mixed through one another, i. e. threw into utter confusion.—*studius civilibus*, i. e. the party-feuds.—*bellum*, etc., sc. *solummodo*. It is hard to say to what period he alludes particularly, probably to that of Sulla.—3. *expedio*, I relate. *Agedum, hoc mihi expedi; primum unde habes istam vestem?* Ter. Eun. iv. 4, 17.—*pauca* (sc. *spatia*?), etc. I will go back a little. *Supra* is here an adv.—*quo*, by which, i. e. by my doing so.—*ad cognoscendum*, i. e. for the purpose of, with a view to, being understood.—*illustria*, clear, plain.—*in aperto*: see on Cat. xli. 1.—4. *post magnitudinem*, etc., i. e. *postquam magni facti sunt Romani*. This mode of expression seems to have been first used by Sallust.—*nominis Romani*. Like *nomen Latinum*, etc.—*Masinissa*, etc.: see Hist. of Rome, p. 241.—*virtute*: see on i. 1.—*multa*, etc.: see Hist. of Rome, p. 245 seq.—*magnum*, adj. for adv., as in Greek; like *multum*, *commodum*, *falsum*, etc.—*manu*, i. e. *pugnando*: comp. Cat. vii. 7.—5. *Sed, ðé*, now.—*imperii*, etc., i. e. he reigned as long as he lived, *ῥαπανάων δὲ τὸν βίον διετέλεσε*, Isocr. Archid. 18. The different fate of Syphax may have suggested this observation. Corte is quite mistaken when he says, that it means that the Romans resumed

their grants after his death.—6. *obtinuit*, held, possessed. It is the proper term.—*Micipsa*: see Excursus IV.—*regnum*. As this word is so generally rendered by our *kingdom*, and is, like it, usually supposed to signify the country ruled over by a king, it may be as well to remind the reader of its original and proper signification. *Regnum*, then, is the condition, power, and authority of a *rex*, his royalty or regality (comp. x. 1), the βασιλεία of the Greeks, our *kingdom* in its original sense (like *princedom*, *dukedom*), as when, in the Lord's Prayer, we render ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, *thy kingdom come*.—7. *dereliquerat* (intensive), had left totally.—*privatum*, sc. *regno*. The proper sense of *privo* is to separate: see on Hor. Sat. ii. 5, 11.—*cultu*: see on Cat. xlviii. 2.—*domi*, i. e. *in domo sua*, *apud se*.

VI. 1. *Validus*, i. e. *valens*: see Virg. Excursus II.—*luxu*, i. q. *luxuri*, a dat.: comp. xvi. 3; xxxix. 2. *Usu et adjumento fuisse*, Cic. ad Fam. xiii. 71. *Ne minimo quidem casu locum relinquere debuisse*, Cæs. Bell. Gall. vi. 42. *Quod nec concubitu indulgeat*, Virg. Geor. iv. 198.—*æqualibus*, sc. *ætate*.—*quom*, i. e. *quamquam*: comp. Cat. xxxvi. 4.—2. *lætus*, i. q. *lætatus*.—*exacta . . . liberis*, abl. abs. *Exacta*, i. e. *ad finem perducta*.—*crescere*, sc. *gloria*.—*negotio*: see on i. 4.—*cum animo*. This is a favourite form with our author instead of *in animo*: comp. Plaut. Trin. ii. 1, 24. It is like the εἴπε πρὸς δὲ θυμόν of Homer.—3. *sua*, etc., i. e. *quam dabat sua*, etc.—*mediocris*, i. e. *modestos*, *moderatos*. A perfectly unusual sense of the word: comp. viii. 1.—*transvorsos*, out of their course. It seems to be a figure taken from navigation.—*anxius erat*, i. e. *valde timebat*.

VII. 1. *Per vim*, etc.: see on v. 4.—*popularibus*: see on Cat. xxii. 1.—2. *bello*, etc.: see Hist. of Rome, p. 284.—*ostentando*, by displaying, i. e. by the desire of displaying.—*sævitia*, i. e. *ferocia*, the exceeding courage. *Et sævum Ænean agnovit Turnus in armis*, Virg. Æn. xi. 910.—4. *naturam*, character.—*morem*, sc. *pugnandi*.—*modestissime*, i. e. without the least arrogance or presumption.—5. *quorum alterum*, of which the latter.—*providentia*, foresight, anticipation.—6. *quippe cujus*: comp. Cat. xlviii. 2.—*frustra erat*, i. e. failed. It is a favourite expression with Sallust.—7. *sollertia*, acuteness.

VIII. 1. *exercitu*, sc. *illo*, i. e. the army in Spain.—*novi*: see on Cat. xxiii. 6.—*nobiles*, i. e. those who had images, as opposed to the *novi*, men of family.—*bono*, etc., i. e. *τῇ καλοκάγαθῇ*.—*factiosi*, party-men: see on Cat. liv. 5.—*domi*, i. e. at Rome.—*apud socios*, i. e. in the provinces: see on Cat. xii. 5.—*clari*, etc.

i. e. distinguished, rather than respectable.—*non mediocrem* : see on vi. 3. It is a litotes.—*in ipso*, sc. *nam*.—2. *magnifice*, in high terms : see on Cat. ix. 2.—*pro concione*, *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, before, in the presence of, the assembled troops.—*prætorium*. The general's tent or quarters. *Prætor*, i. e. *Præ-itor*, was the original term for *consul* : see Hist. of Rome, pp. 58, 97. In the early days of the republic, and on ordinary occasions, the armies were commanded by the prætors (i. e. consuls) alone.—*publice*, etc., i. e. by rendering services to the state, rather than by bribing men of influence.—*quibus*, i. e. *aliquibus*. Indef.—*periculose*, sc. *nam*.—*quod*, etc., i. e. the succession to the kingdom, which only the Roman senate and people could give.—*suis artibus* : see vii. 4.—*illi*, i. e. *ei* : comp. cxi. 1.—*regnum*, a kingdom, royalty. Scipio could hardly mean that he would be appointed to succeed Micipsa. *Venturum*, we think, is hypothetic, would probably come.—*sin*, etc., but if he made too much haste, i. e. had recourse to private bribery, and other indirect arts.—*suamet*, etc. : comp. Cat. xx. 6.

IX. 1. *Earum*, etc., i. e. They were to this effect : comp. § 4. Cat. xxxii. 3.—2. *Nobis*, i. e. *miki*.—*gratulor*, sc. *cum talem esse*. Corte says that *gratulor* is i. q. *gratum habeo*, but he is wrong.—*En habes*, you have in fact : see on Virg. Buc. i. 68.—3. *gratia*, sc. *apud Romanos*.—*viri*, i. e. *Jugurthæ*.—*statim*. This word is used with the usual latitude of words relating to time ; for as Numantia was taken in 619, and Micipsa died in 634, and the adoption of Jugurtha took place within the last three years of his reign (xi. 6), *statim* represents a space of time of at least twelve years.—4. *paucos*, etc., i. e. after the time of his adoption of Jugurtha.—*verba habuisse*, to have spoken : comp. Cat. xxxi. 6 ; xli. 2. It is used chiefly of formal regular speaking. *Quibus omnibus verbis quæ a me tunc sunt habita si dolor abfuisset meus . . . irridenda fuisset oratio mea*, Cic. de Or. ii. 47.

X. 1. *Regnum*. This seems to us to be a plain reference to v. 7. The critics, however, say that it refers to the adoption, and that Micipsa pretends that such had been his intention from the very first.—*accepi*, I took. Like *addo* (see on Cat. lviii. 1) it has the meaning of the simple verb, with the addition of the *præp*.—*falsum habuit*. This is stronger than *fefellit*, and Sallust is fond of thus using *habeo*. *Falsum* we need not say is the past part. of *fallo*.—2. *novissime*, i. e. last of all ; see on xix. 7 ; i. e. after, or beside, those *egregia facta*, in Numidia, before he went to Spain.—*rediens*, etc., i. e. *Numantiæ unde rediisti*. We do not think that

the sense will allow us, with Gerlach, to make *rediens* i. q. *quom rediisses*, or i. q. *quom redires* with Kritz. In all the examples which he gives the effect follows the verb of motion, while here it evidently precedes, for it was while in Spain that the effect had been produced by Jugurtha.—*nomen*, etc. Because Masinissa also had served there: Hist. of Rome, p. 222.—3. *per hanc dexteram*, sc. *tuam quam teneo*. *Hæc per dexteram tuam, te dextera retinens manu*, *Obsecro*, Plaut. Capt. ii. 3, 82: comp. Ter. And. i. 5, 55; Virg. Æn. iv. 314.—*per regni fidem*, by the honour of a king, i. e. the feeling of honour which royalty should give.—*moneo*, I urge: comp. xxx. 2. The preceding adjuration properly refers to *obtestor* alone.—4. *Non*, sc. *nam*.—*officio* (sc. *solummodo*), by kindness and attentions.—6. *parvæ res*, sc. *publicæ*.—7. *ante hos*, before, rather than, these: comp. Cat. liii. 3.—*sapientia*, i. e. knowledge and experience.—*providere*, i. e. to take care; as one can do who foresees.—*opulentior*, i. e. *qui plus habet opum*: see on Cat. vi. 3.—8. *colite, observate*. These verbs, as Corte has shown, are thus frequently joined by Cicero. They have nearly the same meaning (see Cic. Inv. ii. 22), and answer to our, cultivate the friendship of.—*talem*, i. e. *tam præclarum*.—*ne*, i. e. *ut non*.

XI. 1. *Ficta locutum*, i. e. said what was not strictly true, as to the love he bore him, etc.: see vi. vii.—*aliter*, i. e. *alias res*.—*pro tempore*, i. e. as suited the occasion.—*benigne*, i. e. in terms of gratitude and affection.—2. *illî*, dat.—*regulî*. This word is, we believe, first used by Sallust, and whether as a dim. or as i. q. *reges*, we cannot say. It appears to us that *ulus* and *culus* were originally not diminutives, but, on the contrary, merely some of the luxuriant terminations of the Latin language: see Hist. of Rome, p. 4, note. Thus *servus* and *servulus*, *nummus* and *nummulus*, *Pænus* and *Pænulus*, *mulier* and *muliercula*, are equivalent in the comic poets; and probably *Catulus* was *catus*, *Lentulus lentus*, *Poplicula publicus*. So the *Regulus* of the Atilii may have been the same as the *Rex* of the Marcii, and Remus and Romulus have been only different forms of the same name.—*in unum*: see on Cat. xvii. 2.—3. *minumus*, sc. *natu*. *Sextus filius ejus, qui minimus ex tribus erat*, Liv. i. 53: comp. Hor. Ep. i. 2, 1; A. P. 366.—*ignobilitatem*, etc.: see v. 7.—*dextera* (sc. *parte*), etc. The meaning seems to be that Adherbal took his seat the first, and that then Hiempsal sat down on his right hand, so that Jugurtha must, of necessity, sit on his left. But still we do not see how Jugurtha could take the middle seat unless the three seats were placed in a certain order, and he was

the first to sit down ; for it was always in the power of Hiempsal to place Adherbal in the centre, only that he himself might be on his left, instead of on his right hand.—*assedū*. On account of the præp. *ad*, this verb governs the acc. here, which is rather unusual.—4. *concederet*, intensive of *cedo*.—*fatigatus*, i. e. earnestly entreated, wearied out as it were : comp. xiv. 20 ; lxxiii. 2.—*vir*, etc. It would seem from this that Jugurtha then sat on the right of Adherbal.—5. *jacit*, throws out hints, suggests. Tacitus often uses this verb in this sense.—*consulta et decreta*. These terms, nearly the same in sense, and taken from the language of the senate, are used like *portenta et prodigia*, and such like.—*rescindi*, lit., to be torn up. *Re* is intensive : see Hor. Excursus IV.—*parum*, etc., i. e. was not in his perfect mind.—7. *verbum*, i. e. word, expression.—*quisquam*, any one of those that heard it.—*ratus erat*, i. e. had supposed at the time that it would. Some MSS., and Corte, omit *erat*.—8. *ea modo*, etc., i. e. think of nothing else. He uses his favourite *cum* with *animo* ; but this is a solitary instance of *habere* in this construction.—*caperetur*, i. e. *interciperetur*, using, like the poets, the simple for the compound.

XII. 1. *conventu*, meeting : comp. Cat. xxi. 5.—*dissensionem*, i. e. the want of harmony.—2. *decernitur*, decided on, appointed.—*in loca*, etc., i. e. to different towns (*oppida*, § 3) in the vicinity of the strong place in which the royal treasures were kept : comp. lxxv. 1 ; xcii. 6.—*alio*, a dat. : see Zumpt, § 140.—3. *Thirmida*. This place is utterly unknown.—*ejus*, sc. *hominis*.—*proximus lictor*. Among the Romans this was the lictor, who, as the lictors moved in a single line, walked immediately before the consul or prætor. Here it is, in the usual manner, a transference of the Roman term, and means one of his followers who was greatly in his confidence.—*ei*, sc. *Jugurthæ*.—*visens*, i. e. looking over, examining the state of.—*adulterinas*, false. *Quærit etiam si sapiens adulterinos nummos acceperit imprudens pro bonis*, Cic. Off. iii. 23.—*referebantur*, sc. *noctu*.—4. *confecit*, intensive.—5. *divorsi*, i. e. *divorsa via abeuntes*.—*abditā*, out-o'-the-way.—*interim*, i. e. while they were ransacking the house.—*reperitur*, sc. *ab aliquibus eorum*.—*tugurio*, hut. The slaves in Africa may have had huts at some little distance from the dwelling-house, as used to be the case in our West India Islands. This seems to be intimated by the verb *perfugerat*.—*mulieris ancillæ*. The former word may appear to be superfluous ; but this is not an unusual mode of expression. *Mulier meretrix*, Ter. And. iv. 4, 16. *Ser-*

vum hominem, Id. Phorm. ii. 1, 62. *Homo gladiator*, Cic. Fam. xii. 22. In effect one of the words is always an adj. *Ancilla* is, in general, best rendered by, slave-girl; for the *ancilla* appears always to have been young, and employed about the person or in the service of the mistress of the house. Such are the slave-girls that we read of in the East. It is not impossible that Hiempsal may have had a previous intrigue with her.—*pavidus*, i. e. *pavens*.

XIII. 1. *Qui sub imperio*, etc. By this we think is meant those who had been in the immediate service of Micipsa, such as his ministers, slaves, etc., for the people are evidently distinguished from them. The *καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος εἰμι ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν* (Mat. viii. 8), in the Gospel, is similar. The proper and original sense of *imperium* seems to have been the authority of the *pater-familias*. It is frequently used in this sense, especially by the dramatic poets.—*bello*, dat.—2. *urbis*, sc. *Adherbalis et Hiempsalis*.—3. *fortunis suis*, sc. *malis*.—4. *provinciam*. This was the territory of Carthage, which the Romans had reduced to the form of a province, under the name of Africa, and governed by a pro-prætor: see Hist. of Rome, p. 276.—5. *patratis consiliis*, having carried his designs into execution.—*cum animo*: see on vi. 2.—6. *paucis diebus*, sc. *post prælium*.—*veteres amicos*: see viii. 1.—*quæcunque*, sc. *alia præsidia*. It may, however, be i. q. *quoscunque*, as the Latins followed the Greeks in this use of the neuter: see on Hor. Sat. i. 6, 1. *Nec id victoris vitio quo nihil moderatius, sed victoriae*, Cic. ad Fam. iv. 4. *Omnia sunt ingrata, nihil fecisse benigne est*, Catull. lxxiii. 3. *Nihil est ab omni parte beatum*, Hor. Carm. ii. 16, 27: comp. Sat. i. 3, 18; Nep. Alcib. 1. See Theocr. vii. 4, Wüst. *in loc.*—*cunctentur*, sc. *is largiri*.—7. *hospitibus*, sc. *ejus*, i. e. those with whom he had formed the closest intimacy at Numantia.—*auctoritas*, influence.—*commutatio*, sc. *sententiarum*.—*invidia*, odium: comp. Cat. xxii. 3.—*gratiam et favorem*. Two nearly synonymous terms, united in his usual way.—8 *ambiundo*, canvassing, talking over.—9. *Senatus*, etc., i. e. audience was granted them.—*accepimus*, I have heard or learned; probably from one or other of the annalists: Hist. of Rome, Append. A.

XIV. 1. *Patres Conscripti*, i. e. *Patres et conscripti*; the usual form of addressing the senate: see Hist. of Rome, p. 58.—*procuracionem*, i. e. lieutenancy, management; as we talk of managers of estates in the West Indies.—*si ea fecissem*, sc. *dirit*, included in *præcepit*.—2. *agitare*, i. e. *agerem*, act in accordance with.—

imperio vostro : see § 1.—*et jam*. This is the same in sense as the compound *etiam*, but made more forcible by the separation of the elements and by thus throwing the accent on the latter part.—*ab stirpe*, i. e. lineally, by descent.—*fortunis*, property : see on ii. 3.—*eo*, sc. *gradu*, *termino*. It is an old dat. : see on Hor. Ep. ii. 1, 226.—3. *maxime*, above all, still more.—*deberi*, etc., i. e. the debt to be due to me, while I should have no need to demand it.—*secundum*, next to that. We take it as an adv. with the Bip. editors and Kritz. The others follow Corte in reading *secundum ea*, on the authority of Priscian.—*uti*, sc. *ius*.—4. *probitas* (i. e. *quod probatur*), goodness, virtue.—*in manu fuit*, in my power, disposal : comp. § 13. *Uxor quid faciat in manu non est mea*, Ter. Hec. iv. 4, 44. It frequently occurs in Plautus.—*cogor*, etc. There is a zeugma here, for *cogor* cannot properly be joined with *usui esse*.—5. *in suis dubiis*, etc. : see Hist. of Rome, p. 287.—*ejus*, i. e. *populi Romani*. For they had suffered great defeats and reverses of fortune.—6. *Quorum*, i. e. *cujus familiæ*. By synesis.—7. *deformatus* (lit. deprived of beauty), spoiled, destroyed. *Fulminibus complura loca deformata*, Liv. xl. 45.—*alienas*, etc., i. e. I look to the power of others for aid.—*erat*, i. e. *esset* : like the Greek *ἦν*.—*majestatis*, greatness, dignity. It was originally used peculiarly of the Populus, and opposed to the *auctoritas* of the Senate : see on Ov. Fast. v. 25.—*regnum* : see on v. 6.—8. *Verum*, etc., but in truth, etc., and therefore my claim is the stronger.—*his finibus*, i. e. that very territory.—*quos*, etc. : see Hist. of Rome, pp. 254, 266.—*pater*. For Micipsa was the ally of the Romans in the third Punic war : Hist. of Rome, p. 272.—9. *potiusumum*, of all others.—10. *Dum Carthaginienses*, etc. This is not quite correct, for Masinissa was always the aggressor. Id. III. ch. viii. But one is never to expect truth from a Roman when Carthage is the subject.—*jure*, of right, of course, naturally.—*jussissetis*, sc. *nos habere*. For they were offensive as well as defensive allies of Rome ; the usual condition of a Roman alliance.—11. *sese efferens*, rising up, coming forwards.—*dolis capere* : see on xi. 8.—*in imperio vostro*, i. e. *vobis imperantibus*.—*ut ubivis*, etc., so that I am any where, etc. It expresses a consequence : see on lxxxv. 10.—12. *prædicantem*, speaking openly and advisedly : comp. Cat. xlvi. 9.—*multum laborem*. On account of the continued wars of the Romans. It can hardly mean that the Romans were fickle and capricious.—13. *Quod in*, etc., i. e. what we could do, we did.—*per otium*, i. e. *pace*.—*in manu*, etc., i. e. depends on you : comp. § 4.—14. *inpias* : see on Cat.

li. 15.—15. *generis*, i. e. *familiæ*.—*concessit*, yielded, gave up. This is always the sense of this verb with a dat.—*acti*, fixed, fastened on ; referring to the driving of the nails.—*objecti*, cast before, exposed to.—16. *omnia*, i. e. *omnes* : see on xiii. 6.—*necessariis*. This term includes both relations and intimate friends.—*jus*, sc. *omne*.—17. *accedam*. Kritz and Orelli read *accidam* on the authority of Donatus on Ter. Hec. iii. 3, 18.—18. *abunde magna*, sc. *dicebat*, included in *instituit*.—19. *Virtute*, sc. *vostra*.—*secunda*. This seems to have been originally a part. of *sequor*, of the form of *oriundus*, etc.—*sociorum injurias*, i. e. the injuries done them : comp. Cat. lii. 6.—20. *quos* (i. e. *aliquos*), sc. *vostrum*.—*privata* : see on v. 7.—*amicitia*, i. e. *amici* : see on Cat. xxiii. 1.—*parum cognita*, sc. *üs*. They either did not know them to be his friends or what were the motives of their friendship for him.—*transvorsos* : see on vi. 3.—*quos*, sc. *amicos* : see on Cat. xvii. 6.—*ingere*, sc. *dicentes*.—21. *Quod*, i. e. what they say I am doing. So we think Corte rightly explains this word. Instead then of saying *facientem*, he names the act itself. Kritz joins *quod utinam*.—*næ* (sc. *tum*), of a truth : see on Cat. lii. 27.—22. *immaturo*, sc. *morti*, i. e. young : see on Hor. Sat. ii. 8, 59.—*unde*, i. e. *a quo*.—*letandum*, to be rejoiced at.—23. *regno consulam*, i. e. giving up all thoughts of avenging you, try how I may by means of the Romans recover my kingdom.—*cujus*, i. e. *ego cujus*. The pron. is included in the preceding verb.—*vitæ*, etc., i. e. whether I am to live or die.—*alienis*, i. e. *aliorum*. He means, we think, the Romans ; for if they did not aid and protect him, Jugurtha would, there was little doubt, deprive him of life. The historian had probably the event in his mind when composing this speech.—24. *fortunis*, sc. *malis*.—*contemptus*, i. e. *contemptibilis*. *Q. Pompeius non contemptus orator*, Cic. Brut. 25.—*concessissem*, had yielded to, i. e. had sat down quietly under it, without making any attempt to assert my rights.—*lubet*, sc. *isto modo*.—25. *per scelus*, etc., by the crime (i. e. of Jugurtha) and the blood (i. e. of Hiempsal and perhaps myself) of our family. This seems more simple than with Kritz to make *per scelus* i. q. *scelesti*.—*tabescere*, to waste away and come to nought.

XV. 1. *Putarent . . . ponerent*, sc. *senatores*. By synesis.—2. *consulitur*, sc. *a consule* : see Cat. xlviii. 6.—*fautores*, i. e. the patrons, as it were, those who had undertaken to manage the matter for them, the *amicitia* of xiv. 20.—*magna pars*, sc. *etiam senatus*.—*gratia*, sc. *eorum*.—*depravata*, i. e. turned from the right course.—*contemnere*, hold cheap, treat as of no weight.—3. *bonum et*

æquum. *Bonus* is i. q. *honestus*. The two nearly equivalent terms are joined as usual, and they govern a verb in the singular. *Quid cum illis agas, qui neque jus neque bonum atque æquum sciunt?* Ter. Heaut. iv. 1, 29. *Id non fieri ex vera vita, neque adeo ex æquo et bono*, Id. Adelph. v. 9, 30.—4. *Æmilius Scaurus*, sc. *M*. This was one of the most remarkable men of the time. Like Sulla, he was of a reduced patrician family, but by his own mental energy and vigorous exertion he overcame all difficulties, rose to the consulate, and became Princeps Senatus and Censor. He was a high aristocrat and strenuously opposed to all who, from the Gracchi to Saturninus, sought the popular favour. He wrote his own Life, in three books, which was commended by Cicero, who is full of his praises, but is obliged, however, (de Or. ii. 70,) to acknowledge his avarice: see Val. Max. iv. 4, 11; Vell. ii. 9; Ernest. Clav. Cic.—*impiger*, indefatigable, energetic.—*factiosus*, i. e. a high party-man. Plautus (Aul. ii. 2, 50; Bac. iii. 6, 13) uses this word in the sense of *powerful*, having great influence.—*honoris*, of office.—5. *famosam*, i. e. matter of common talk.—*solet*, sc. *accidere*.—*polluta licentia*, i. e. by transgressing the bounds of moderation (i. e. indulging his cupidity) in this foul and shameful manner.—*invidiam accenderet*, sc. *in semet ipsum*. *Invidia*, odium, as usual.

XVI. 1. *vero*, i. q. *justo*: see on Hor. Ep. i. 7, 98.—2. *decem*. This was always the number of commissioners whom the Romans sent out on occasions like the present.—*L. Opimius*, etc.: see Hist. of Rome, p. 305 seq.—3. *in inimicis*. This is the reading of only one MS., but the context shows that it is the true one. Corte and Gerlach follow the MSS., and read *in amicis*. It is quite plain that Opimius must have voted with Scaurus.—*adcuratissime*, with the utmost attention.—*famæ*. Corte and Kritz follow the many MSS. which read *fama*. But they are unable to give convincing examples of such a structure, and that reading may easily have arisen from the error of the copyists who took *fide* for an abl.—*fide*, i. q. *fidei*: see on Hor. Sat. i. 3, 95.—5. *illam alteram*, i. e. the part adjoining to and surrounding the Roman province.—*specie*, etc., in appearance, etc. *Et in usum boni et in speciem populo sint*, Plaut. Most. i. 2, 42.—*quæ*, etc. The reason of its being so.—*portuosior*. It lay more along the coast of the Mediterranean, and therefore had more harbours.—*ædificiis*, etc. It contained Cirta, Vaga, Zama, Capsa, and other towns in the interior, and apparently Leptis and others on the coast to the south-east of the province.

XVII. 1. *Res*, etc. : comp. Cat. v. 9.—*situm*, i. e. its position and nature.—*exponere*, i. e. *ut exponam*. A usual construction in Plautus and Terence.—*adtingere*, i. q. *paucis exponere*.—2. *Sed*, etc. But as to those, etc., which.—*ob calorem*, i. e. within the Torrid Zone.—*asperitatem*. Probably Mt. Atlas and its tribes.—*solitudines*. The great desert of Sahara and others.—*frequentata*, i. e. inhabited : comp. xlviii. 4. Not as Kritz says, *quæ adeuntur vel adiri solent*.—*compertum*, ascertained, certain.—3. *In divisione*, i. e. when dividing.—*orbis terræ*. The ordinary expression is *orbis terrarum*.—*in partem tertiam*, as a third part. This is the division made by Herodotus (iv. 41), Polybius (iii. 37), Strabo (i. ii. *passim*), Mela, Pliny, and others.—*pauci*, etc., sc. *censuere*, by zeugma, viz. Plato (Gorg. 523), Isocrates (Panegy. 48), Varro (L. L. v. 31, ed. Müll. ; R. R. i. 2), Agathemerus (ii. 2). It appears that it was Eratosthenes who gave vogue to this division ; for, drawing a line from east to west, he named all to the north of it Europe, all to the south Asia. The making Africa a part of Europe seems to be peculiar to Sallust, as it is only to be found elsewhere in Orosius (i. 2), who undoubtedly took it from him.—4. *Ea* (sc. *Africa*), etc. This seems strange geography ; for this *fretum* (Straits of Gibraltar) runs east and west, and the proper western boundary of Africa is the ocean. Still it is given as the western boundary by Polybius and Mela as well as by Sallust, and their meaning probably is that it was the boundary between it and Europe, as the Catabathmos was between it and Asia.—*declivem latitudinem*, i. e. an extensive flat descent.—*Catabathmon*, *Κατάβαθμος*, descent. *Vallis devera in Ægyptum*, Mela, i. 8. It commenced on the east border of the Cyrenaica, of which Herodotus says (iv. 199) : ἡ Κυρηναίη χώρα ἐοῦσα ὑψηλοτάτη ταύτης τῆς Λιβύης.—*incolæ*, i. e. the Cyreneans, as it is a Greek name. Unless he means that this is the Greek translation of the native term.—5. *Mare*. By this he probably means the part of the Mediterranean along the north coast of Africa, for it is to that part that he confines his description.—*ævum*. He seems to have the Syrtes chiefly in view.—*importuosum*. It will be seen by looking on the map how very deficient that part of the coast is in good harbours.—*frugum fertilis*. It was from it that Rome drew a great part of the corn requisite for its consumption : see Hor. Carm. i. 1, 10 ; iii. 16, 31 ; Sat. ii. 3, 87.—*bonus pecori*, sc. *alendo*. *Mons pecori bonus alendo erat*, Liv. xxi. 31.—*arbore* (collect.) trees. Most MSS. read *arbori*, some *arboribus*, or *arboris*, or *arborum* ; for *fecundus* governs these three cases.

Sallust, however, had a predilection for the abl. *Flumen gignendo sale fecundum*, Tac. Ann. xiii. 57. *Illa ferax oleo*, Virg. Geor. ii. 222.—*cælo*, etc., i. e. rain, and springs, and streams were alike scarce.—6. *salubri corpore*, i. e. of a sound constitution.—*plerosque*, i. e. *plerumque eos*.—*interiere*, an aorist.—*ad hoc*, moreover, beside what I have stated.—*malesci*, etc., sc. *sunt in Africa*.—7. *habuerint*, possessed, inhabited: see on Cat. vi. 1.—*fama*, tradition.—*quæ*, etc., i. e. which is the most prevalent. Report or tradition is thus said to hold those who, in our idiom, would hold it. *Tenet fama lupam . . . flexisse*, Liv. i. 4. *Quod et plures tradidere et fama obtinet*, Id. xxi. 46.—*qui regis Hiempsalis*, etc. This is not, as the silence of the editors might lead one to suppose, the son of Micipsa. It is rather the prince of that name, to whom Pompeius, when he had taken prisoner Jarpha (Ἰάρφα or Ἰάρφθα), i. e. Jarbas, Hiarbas, the ally of the Marian general Domitius, gave the kingdom of Numidia in 670: see Excurs. IV. This king Hiempsal is also mentioned by the author of the Bell. African. (c. 56) thus: *Namque Gætulî ex equitatu regio nobiliores . . . quorum patres cum Mario ante meruerant, ejusque beneficio agris finibusque donati post Sullæ victoriam sub Hiempsalis regis erant potestate dati . . . perfugiunt in Cæsaris castra*. He had, it is evident, collected a library, of which Sallust made use when in Numidia.—*utique*, i. e. *et uti*.—*habere*, sc. *vere*.—*cultores*, i. e. *incolæ*, the natives.—*auctores*, i. e. *scriptores librum Punicorum*.—*fides*, ground of confidence, i. e. truth.

XVIII. 1. *Gætulî*. This name was unknown to Herodotus. Strabo (xvii. 3) places them in the Atlas and its parallel ranges, and says that they were the largest of the tribes of Africa.—*Libyes*. This was the name given by the Greeks to the aborigines of the north coast in general.—*inculti*, uncivilized.—*humipabulum*, i. e. herbs and roots.—2. *Hî*, etc. He had described the aborigines of Italy in nearly similar terms, Cat. vi. 1.—*vagi*, etc. In his usual manner, two nearly synonymous terms. He means that they were in so low a state of culture as to have no habitations of any kind.—*qua*, sc. *parte*.—3. *Sed postquam*, etc. This seems to have been a pragmatized form of the mythe of Geryon. We do not find it in any extant Greek author; but it was undoubtedly from Greeks that the Africans learned it. There was always a great resort of native Greeks, as well as Sicilians, to Carthage; and Strabo (*ut sup.*) tells us that Micipsa settled a number of Greeks in Cirta.—4. *intra*, etc. Lange understood this to be *further*, more away from, i. e. more in the

interior. But against this it is justly urged, that the Persians could not have carried their ships so far inland. It is better, therefore, with the expositors in general, to follow Corte in rendering *intra*, near, approaching to; for Sallust seems to mean that the Persians settled on the coast below, i. e. south of the Medes or Moors. Corte gives the following examples of this sense of *intra*: *Fossa ingens ducta et vallum intra eam erigitur*, Liv. xxv. 11. *Antiochum illum Magnum majores nostri intra montem Taurum regnare jusserunt*, Cic. Sext. 27. *Locus intra Oceanum jam nullus est, neque tam longinquus, neque tam reconditus, quo non nostrorum hominum libido iniquitasque pervaserit*, Cic. Verr. ii. 3, 89: comp. Gell. xii. 13.—5. *materia*, ξύλον, timber; *madera* Span., *madeira* Portug. Hence the name of the well-known island. Strabo says there was plenty of timber in this part of Africa.—*mutandi*, bartering.—6. *mare*, sc. *nam*.—*ignara*, i. q. *ignota*: comp. lii. 4; xciii. 3; ciii. 6.—7. *Hi*, etc. Just as he had spoken of the Trojans and the aborigines (Cat. v. 1), but with the necessary differences.—*Nomadas*, Νομάδας, roamers, wanderers. Evidently a name given them by the Sicilian Greeks, and not by themselves.—8. *mapalia*: see Excursus V.—*carinæ*, i. e. *alvei*: see § 5.—9. *hi*, i. e. Libyes.—*sub sole*, etc., i. e. southwards.—*ardoribus*, i. e. the Torrid Zone.—*instituerant*, sc. *ii et Hispani*; by synesis, like: Λέσβος . . . ἀπέστη ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων, βουλευθέντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, Thuc. iii. 2.—10. *Nomen*, etc. What strange etymology!—11. *res*, sc. *publica*: see on Cat. vi. 3.—*nomine Numidæ*, i. e. under the name of Numidians: comp. § 7.—*digressi*, sc. *aliqui*.—*possidere*, i. e. occupied, or took possession of.—*appellatur*. By a kind of attraction, by which the verb is made to agree with the proximate subst., a thing we often do ourselves in hasty or careless writing. *Amantium iræ amoris integratio est*, Ter. And. iii. 3, 23.—12. *utrique*, i. e. the parent race and the emigrants.—*alteris freti*, i. e. aiding each other.—*finitimos*. These must be the Libyes.—*magis ii*, etc., i. e. especially the emigrants.—*Gætulæ*. For the parent race had to contend with these, and not with the Libyes.—*Africæ pars inferior*, i. e. Lower Africa, the north part adjoining the Mediterranean: comp. xix. 5. Lower Egypt, Lower Canada, etc., are the parts nearest the coast, the idea being given by the course of the rivers.—*in gentem*, etc., i. e. became incorporated with.

XIX. 1. *alii*, sc. *domum linquentes*.—*pars*, i. q. *alii*: see on Cat. ii. 1.—*imperi cupidine*, i. e. the love of independence.—

solicitata: see on Cat. xxxvi. 1.—*aliis*, sc. *solicitalis*. These, of course, were persons of a better class.—*Hipponem*, sc. *Zarytum* or *Diarrhytum*, to the west of Utica. It was different from Hippo Regius (*Bona*), which was of later foundation, and lay still more to the west.—*Hadrumetum*, Ἀδρυμητός, Ἀδρύμη, considerably to the east of the bay of Carthage.—*Leptim*, sc. *Minorem*, eastwards of Hadrumetum, between it and Thapsus.—*originibus*, μητροπόλεσι, i. e. the various cities of Phœnicia, from which the colonists came. It is rather an unusual sense of the word: comp. Liv. xxvi. 13; xxxviii. 39. We only hear of this relation to the Phœnician parent-states in the case of Carthage to Tyre. For the Grecian colonial relations, see Hist. of Greece, p. 28.—2. *Nam*. Kritz thus supplies the ellipse in this place: *Hæc de illis urbibus sufficient, sed Carthaginem consulto non nominavi*. He seems to think that *nam* must be always illative, whereas it is sometimes disretive, and is i. q. *vero, autem*. Thus Cicero (ad Att. ix. 2) commences a paragraph in this manner: *Nam quod negas te dubitare*, etc.—*alio*, elsewhere: see on xii. 2.—3. *Igitur*, to proceed then: see Excursus I. 19.—*ad*, i. e. *juxta*, next to.—*secundo mari*, i. e. along the sea-coast, westwards. *Exercitum transducit et secundo flumine . . . iter facere cepit*, Cæs. Bell. Gall. vii. 58.—*Theræon*, Θηραίων, the people of the island of Thera: see Herod. iv. 145 seq.—*Leptis*, sc. *Major*, or *Neapolis*: see on lxxvii. 1.—*Philæmon aræ*: see on lxxviii.—*aliæ*, αἱ ἄλλαι.—4. *Cetera*, i. e. the coast westwards of the Punic territory.—*proximi*, etc., i. e. they possess the coast opposite Spain.—5. *Super*, i. e. to the south of.—*in tuguriis*, i. e. in villages.—*incultius*, in a less civilised state.—*agitare*, sc. *vitam*.—6. *post eos*, i. e. to the south of *them*.—*dein*, etc., i. e. the Torrid Zone.—7. *Igitur*, etc., i. e. such then being the ethnologic state of Africa in the time of the Jugurthine war.—*pleraque*, etc. By an awkward construction he has *oppida* and *Carthaginiensium* instead of *oppidis* and *Carthaginienses*.—*finēs*, territories.—*novissimæ*, i. e. what they had had last of all (comp. lxxi. 3), after the diminution of their territory by the Romans in favour of Masinissa, at the end of the Second, and in the interval between it and the Third Punic war: see Hist. of Rome, pp. 254, 266.—*magistratus*, i. e. proprætors: Hist. of Rome, p. 276.—*Mulucham*. Strabo (xvii. 3) terms it Μολοχάθ. It is now named the *Mahala* or *Moolooayah*. It formed the boundary between Numidia and Mauritania (see xcii. 5), as it still does between Algeria and Morocco.—*rex Bocchus*, i. e. a king named Bocchus.

XX. 1. *illorum*, etc. : see xiii. 6.—2. *acer*, bold, active. Livy frequently thus joins *acer* and *bellicosus* : see xxvi. 26 ; xxvii. 34 ; xxix. 32.—*opportunist*, i. e. a good subject for.—3. *manu*, sc. *hominum*, i. e. *copiis*.—*invadit*, enters.—*loca*. Probably the towns and villages.—4. *multitudine*, i. e. *manu*, § 3.—*convortit*, sc. *se* : see on Cat. vi. 7.—*suas*, i. e. *sibi illatas*.—*manu*, by force, by the strong hand, as our ancestors used to say.—5. *neque*, i. e. *non*.—*secus*, sc. *ac sperarat*.—6. *animo*, in thought.—*invaserat*, sc. *et ceperat* ; for this idea is included.

XXI. 1. *processum*, sc. *negotium*, that matters were come to that point.—*obvius*, i. e. *obviam*. Gerlach, we think justly, says that it is a poetic form ; this Kritz denies, but he can give no instance of it from Cæsar or Cicero.—2. *Interim*, i. e. before they came to an engagement.—*haud longe*, i. e. not very far.—*prope*, i. e. toward, nearer to it than to the sea. This was probably the valley in which the French camp d'El Arrouch and their military farm lie. *Prope* is to be understood with the usual latitude of Latin words relating to time and space.—*Cirtam* : see Excursus VI. 1.—*die*, i. e. *diei* : see on Virg. Geor. i. 228.—*obscur*, etc., i. e. before the dawn. Kritz says that *lumen* is i. q. *sol*, the luminous body, as opposed to *lux*, the light.—*milit*, etc. : comp. the attack on the camp of Syphax, Hist. of Rome, p. 246.—*paucis equitibus* : comp. xxv. 10. They were probably his body-guards : see on ci. 6.—*togatorum*, i. e. *civium Romanorum*. These were chiefly *negotiatores* : see xxvi. 3.—*prohibuit*, lit. kept off from.—3. *vineis*, etc. The *vineæ* were formed of wicker-work, and covered with skins, under which the besiegers made their approaches ; the *turres* were moveable wooden towers ; the *machinæ* were the *ballistæ*, *scorpiones*, and other machines for throwing darts, stones, and beams of timber.—*tempus*, sc. *reditus*.—4. *tres adulescentes*. By this is probably meant men who had not yet, on account of their age, attained to the higher offices of the state : see on Cat. xxxviii. 1.—*verbis*, i. e. *nomine* : comp. xxv. 11 ; Plaut. Mil. iii. 3, 38 ; iv. 4, 43 ; Cic. ad Fam. ix. 6.—*velle*, etc., sc. S. P. Q. R.—*se*, i. e. *Romanos*.

XXII. 1. *in Africam*. It is probable that they landed at the port of Cirta, in which case they had only a land-journey of fifty miles, whereas had they landed, as was usual, at Utica, the capital of the province, they would have had one of upwards of two hundred miles.—*clemens*, *ἡπιος*, moderate, below the truth.—*Nec, qua sit clementissimus amnis, Quærit*, Ov. Met. ix. 115. *Colles erant clementer assurgentes*, Tac. Ann. xiii. 38.—2. *malitia*,

i. e. *malis artibus*.—*easdem artis*, i. e. *virtutem*.—4. *pro bono*, i. e. *bonum*, *bene* : comp. Cat. xv. 2.—5. *appellandi*, speaking to, communicating with : see on Cat. xvii. 1.—*non fuit*, i. e. Jugurtha did not permit them to enter the town.

XXIII. 1. *armis*, i. e. by assault : comp. xxv. 9.—*vallo*, etc., by a wall and ditch ; to prevent sallies, and to impede the introduction of troops and supplies : see Hist. of Greece, pp. 175, 182. Yet when the site of Cirta is considered, it is not easy to see how this could be done, or what the necessity for it was. Sallust is perhaps, in his usual way, only employing a current form of expression. *Vallum* and *wall*, it may be observed, though belonging to different languages, are words of common origin.—*extruit*, sc. at intervals along the *vallum*.—*casque*, etc., i. e. places guards in them.—*prorsus* : see on Cat. xv. 5.—2. *auxilii*, etc., sc. from the Numidians.—*penuria*, etc., i. e. of stores and provisions.—*trahi*, i. q. *extrahi*.—*miserando*, deploring. *Quis illæc est mulier quæ ipsa se miseratur?* Plaut. Epid. iv. 1, 6. *Non queo satis communem omnem nostrum condicionem et hujus eventum fortunamque miserari*, Cic. pro Mur. 27.—*confirmat*, prevails on.—*proximum mare*, i. e. the nearest part of the coast.

XXIV. 2. *oratum*, i. e. beseeching, supplicating.—*omnia*, sc. *alia*.—3. *beneficia*, sc. in *Jugurtham*.—4. *Plura*, i. e. at greater length.—*jam antea*, etc. : see xv. 2.—5. *nisi*, etc. This phrase seems to answer to our, but *this* I know. The idiom is frequent in the comic poets. *Quid ego nam? nisi te commentum nimis astute, intellego*, Plaut. Epid. ii. 2, 98. *Etiam nunc quid sit negotii falsus incertusque sum: Nisi quia timeo tamen*, Id. Truc. iv. 3, 11. *Æ. Obsecro, num ludis tu nunc me? M. Ego te? quamobrem? Æ. Nescio; nisi tam misere hoc esse cupio verum, eo vereor magis*, Ter. Ad. iv. 5, 53. *Quid erat quod Capitonem primum scire voluerit? Nescio; nisi hoc video Capitonem in his bonis esse socium*, Cic. Rosc. Amer. 35. In such cases *nisi* is i. q. *si non*, with in general an ellipse of *hoc*.—*petere*, sc. *aliquid*. He means that Jugurtha will not be content with the whole of Numidia, but will try to get the province also.—*sperare*, sc. *se retenturum*.—*gravius*, i. e. of greater value or importance. *Nunquam erit alienis gravis qui suis se concinnat levem*, Plaut. Trin. iii. 2, 58. *Gravius tuom erit unum verbum ad eam rem quam centum mea*, Id. ib. ii. 2, 111.—6. *sane*, of course.—*nostræ*, i. e. were merely personal to us.—7. *vostrum regnum* : see xiv. 1.—*imperatorem*, governor : see on Cat. ii. 3.—9. *Nam* : see on xix. 2.—*vana*, false.—10. *ostentui*, an example, a means of show-

ing. *Auribus decisis vivere jubet, ostentui clementiæ suæ et in nos dehonestamento*, Tac. Ann. xii. 14.—*Non jam*, not that I, not at all that. *Jam* is here the Italian *già*.—*mortem*, i. e. death simply.—*imperium*, i. e. the insolent power.—*si ulla*, etc., sc. *per eam*.

XXV. 1. *censerent*, gave it as their opinion.—2. *enism*, sc. *et effectum*. In the usual manner: see on xx. 6.—4. *majores natu*, sc. *homines*; as opposed to the *adulescentes*, xxi. 4.—*amplis*, etc., i. e. who had been consuls, etc., as opposed to their predecessors, xxi. 4.—5. *res*, etc., i. e. the affair of Jugurtha excited general indignation.—*Uticam*. This was the seat of government in the province.—*mittunt*, sc. *jubentes ut*.—*ad*, etc., i. q. *in provinciam veniat*, § 10. The others had gone to his camp.—*seque*, sc. *dicentes*.—6. *pollere*, sc. *multum*.—7. *porro*, still: comp. Cat. xlv. 2. *Me qui abusus sum tantam rem patriam, porro in divitiis esse, agrumque habere, egere illam autem*, Plaut. Trin. iii. 2, 56.—*cæcus*, i. q. *cæcatus*.—9. *inrumpere*, to storm.—*diducta*. As having to defend at once the whole circuit of the walls.—*casus*, a chance.—10. *secus*: see on xx. 5.—11. *quod*, etc. because he would not raise the siege.—*frustra*, i. e. *nulla re effecta*.

XXVI. 1. *Italici*, i. q. *togati*, xxi. 2.—*de ceteris*, i. e. his restoration to his kingdom, etc.—3. *fuera*: see on xxxix. 3.

XXVII. 1. *ministri*, servants. He uses this expression to show his contempt for the base hirelings who would, as here, screen any atrocity for money. Such were the Roman nobles of those days! But not all.—*interpellando*, sc. *loquentes*.—*gratia*, i. e. by using their influence.—*jurgius*, by abusive language, by attacks on the characters of the speakers, or of the late unhappy Numidian princes: comp. Cat. xxxi. 5.—*leniebant*, i. e. they tried to do so. A usual sense of verbs.—*C. Memmius*: see on xxx. 2.—2. *designatus*. This shows that the death of Adherbal was in the summer; for the tribunes, like the consuls, were usually elected before the end of July (Cic. ad Att. i. 1), and they entered on their office in December: see on Cat. xliii. 1.—*id agi*, i. e. *id esse consilium*.—*paucos factiosos*, i. e. *paucos potentes*, the powerful oligarchs: see on Cat. xx. 7.—*condonaretur*: see on Cat. lii. 8.—*profecto*, beyond any manner of doubt.—3. *timet*. The present is used after temporal conjunctions: see Hor. Excursus I.—*lege Sempronia*: see on Cat. xxvi. 4.—*futuris*, i. e. *designatis*.—*declarati*. The consular elections therefore, this year, were later than those of the tribunes.—*P. Scipio Nasica*, the son of him who slew Tib. Gracchus; Cic. Off. i. 30.—

4. *L. Bestia*. Little else is known of him beyond what Sallust relates.—5. *scribitur*: see on Cat. xxxii. 1.—*alia*, i. e. *commeatus*, etc.

XXVIII. 1. *spem*, ἐλπίδα, expectation.—*venum*, sc. *ad*. This is a noun, like *pessum*. We meet the oblique case *veno* in Tac. Ann. xiii. 51; xiv. 15. It is joined with *ire* and *dare*.—2. *Qui postquam*, etc., i. e. when it was known that they had landed, and were on their way to Rome: see xiii. 6.—*ūque*, i. e. *senatus*. By synesis: comp. xviii. 9.—4. *legat*, chooses for his *legati*, or lieutenants. These, of which the number does not appear to have been limited, were persons selected by him who was going out in the government of a province or command of an army, as his assistants in both his civil and his military duties. They thus commanded divisions of his army, and were his representatives when he was obliged to be absent from his command. The great Africanus went as legate to his brother, Hist. of Rome, p. 257, and Fabius Maximus to his son, ib. p. 158.—*munita*, i. e. *defensa, tuta*: comp. xxxi. 14; xxxiii. 2.—*natura et habitu*, i. e. natural and acquired qualities. *Quæ natura data animo et corpori considerabuntur, in natura considerata sunt; nam quæ industria comparantur ad habitum pertinent*, Cic. de Inv. i. 25.—5. *consule*, sc. *hoc*.—*multæ*, etc., πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ.—*artes*, qualities.—*satis*, i. e. *bene, multum*.—*haud ignarus*, i. e. *bene sciens*. A litotes.—*firmissimus*, i. e. *intrepidus et bene paratus*.—*pericula*, etc., i. e. open war, and secret wiles and ambushes: comp. xlv. 6.—6. *legiones*, sc. *ductæ*, included, by zeugma, in *transvectæ*.—*Africam*, i. e. the province, as appears from § 7.—7. *initio*, i. e. at first.

XXIX. 1. *administrabat*, i. e. *gerebat*, was conducting. *Non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum administrandum*, Cic. pro Leg. Man. 2.—*asperitatem*, difficulty and danger: see on Cat. x. 2. This subst. and its adj. *asper* are favourite terms with our author.—*æger avaritia*. As if it was a disease.—2. *a principio*: see xv. 4.—3. *redimebat*, i. e. sought to purchase: see on xxvii. 1.—*acceperat*, sc. *esse*. Several MSS., which Corte follows, read *acceperat*; but the temporal conj. allows the use of the perf., as of the præs.—*de omnibus*, etc., i. e. *de omnibus pacisci*, etc.—4. *fidei causa*, i. e. that he might be a kind of hostage.—*Vagam*, i. e. named Vaga. In many MSS., followed by Corte and Gerlach, it is *Vaccam*: see Excursus VI. 4.—*species*, pretext.—*palam*, i. e. in the presence of his council.—*deditionis mora*, i. e. in the interval, the time till the surrender should be effected.—5. *consilio* (not *concilio*), i. e. the council of officers: comp.

lxii. 4 ; civ. 1.—*atque*, sc. *precatus*. Zeugma.—*quasi per saturam*, etc., i. e. the votes being, as it were, taken in the lump : see Hor. Sat. i. 1. *argum.*—6. *pro consilio* (i. q. *palam*, § 4), in presence of the council.—*pecus* (collective), cattle : sc. *multum*.—*Calpurnius*, etc. His colleague, Scipio, had died (Cic. Brut. 34), and the elections required the presence of one of the consuls : see on xxxvii. 1.—*ad magistratus rogandos*, i. e. holding the elections. The formula was : *Velitis, jubeatis . . . rogo Quirites*, which was spoken by the presiding magistrate. *Ut duos viros ædiles ex patribus dictator populum rogaret*, Liv. vi. 42.—in *Numidia*, i. e. *apud Numidas*.

XXX. 1. *conventus*, i. e. *circulos*, etc.—*soliciti*, uneasy.—*parum constabat*, i. e. they were doubtful, uncertain.—2. *potentia*, i. e. *gratia*, *auctoritas*.—*auctor* : see on Ov. Fast. i. 612.—*impediebat*, kept them from : see Cic. Mur. 19 ; ad Att. xiii. 45.—*C. Memmius* : see xxvii. 2. He was now a tribune. In 647 he was prætor, and in 652, when standing for the consulate, he was murdered by the faction of Saturninus : Hist. of Rome, p. 328.—*libertate ingeni*, i. e. *παρρησία*.—*ad vindicandum*, to punish, sc. those who had made the treaty with Jugurtha—*monere*, to urge : comp. x. 3.—*multa superba*, etc., sc. in the time of the Gracchi.—3. *perscribere*, to write out. It might appear from this that the speech of Memmius had been published, and that the following is a copy. But that such is not the case appears from the following *hujusmodi*, and from the use of the poetic perf. in *ere*. It is probable, however, that some contemporary annalist had inserted speeches of Memmius' in his work, from which Sallust derived his materials for the following harangue.—*ea quæ*, i. e. what.

XXXI. 1. *Multa*, etc. Either Memmius or Sallust seems to have had in view a speech of Cato's which began thus : *Multa me dehortata sunt huc prodire, anni, ætas, vox, vires, senectus, verum enim vero quom tantam rem publicam agier arbitrarer. Ap. Gell. xiii. 24 : comp. Cat. lii. 2.*—*a vobis*, i. e. *a vestris rebus*.—*factionis*, sc. *nobilium*.—2. *his annis XX*. This was A.U. 641, and Tib. Gracchus was slain in 619. The MSS. in general read *XV.*, some *XII.* ; the present reading is not found in any MS., but it is in the rare Editio Victoriana, Flor. 1576, was approved of by Corte and Gerlach, and is adopted by Kritz and Orelli.—*paucorum* (*τῶν δλίγων*), i. e. *factionis*, the oligarchy : see on Cat. xx. 7.—*vestri defensores*, i. e. the Gracchi, Fulvius, and others.—3. *obnoxius*, in your power : see on Cat. xlviii. 5.—5. *libertatem*,

i. e. *παρήσταν* : comp. xxx. 2.—*experiar*, make proof of, use.—*ob rem*, i. e. *in rem* ; comp. Cat. xx. 1.—6. *Neque*, i. e. *non*.—*necesse est*, sc. *nam*.—*præcipiles eant* : see Cat. xxv. 4.—7. *Occiso*, etc. This proves the reading *XX*. in § 2 to be right.—*regnum parare* : see on Cat. v. 6.—*quæstiones*, i. e. *judicia capitalia*, trials for life.—*item*, etc. For the whole of these proceedings, see Hist. of Rome, Part IV. ch. i.—*in carcere*, i. e. *in Tulliano* : see Cat. lv. 3.—*lubido*, etc., i. e. they slaughtered them till they were satiated.—8. *sua*, their own, i. e. the public land, etc.—*quidquid*, etc., i. e. though the guilt of Opimius and those who murdered the Gracchi be great, yet, as it cannot be punished without bloodshed, we will allow it to pass for justice.—*ulcisci*, passive. *Ob iras graviter ultas*, Liv. ii. 17. *Quæ defendi repetique et ulcisci fas sit*, Id. v. 49.—*nequitur*, passive. *Quod Termino fanum fuit id nequitum exaugurari*, Cat. ap. Fest. v. Nequitum. *Ut nequitur comprimi*, Plaut. Rud. iv. 4, 20.—9. *ærarium*, etc. : see on Cat. lii. 6.—*reges*, etc. : comp. Cat. xx. 7.—*gloriam*, i. e. *honores*, the high offices of the state.—*parum habuere*, they made little account of, thought to be a mere trifle.—*postremo*, etc. Meaning the late transactions with Jugurtha.—10. *per ora vostra*, before your faces. *Volito vivu' per ora virum*, Ennius : comp. Virg. Geor. iii. 9 ; Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 64 ; Ov. Tr. iv. 2, 48 ; Liv. ii. 38.—*sacerdotia* : see on Cat. xxi. 2.—*pars*, sc. *etiam*.—11. *Servi*, etc. This also is taken from Cato (ap. Gell. x. 3) : *Servi injurias nimis ægre ferunt ; quid illos bono genere natos, magna virtute præditos opinamini animi habuisse atque habituros dum vivent ?*—*imperio*, a dat.—*occupavere*, have seized, taken possession of. It was the term used of appropriating part of the public land, and which was perhaps its original sense : Hist. of Rome, p. 69. It would seem to be composed of *ob*, and an obs. verb, *cupo*, i. q. *capio*.—12. *nocentissumi*. *Nocens* is *qui nocet*, *qui facit injuriam* : see Cic. Off. ii. 42.—*pietas*, duty, to the gods, to one's country, etc.—13. *Pars eorum*, etc. : see § 7.—14. *quam, tam*, the, the.—*quos* (i. e. *ä quos*), etc. The nom. to *transstulere*.—*unum*, sc. *locum* or *agmen*.—15. *hæc*, i. q. *hoc* : see on Cat. vii. 6.—*factio*, combination, confederacy.—16. *vastaretur*, laid waste, pillaged, plundered, as if it was an enemy's country.—*beneficia vostra*, i. e. the offices of the state, *amici dona Quiritis*, Hor. Ep. i. 6, 7.—17. *Majores*, etc. : see on Cat. xxxiii. 3.—*parandæ juris*, of obtaining laws and justice.—*majestatis constituendæ*, i. e. establishing the power and dignity of the people by the institution of the tribunate. *Majestas est in imperio atque in omni populi*

Romani dignitate, Cic. ap. Quintil. vii. 3. *Majestatem minuire est de dignitate aut amplitudine aut potestate populi aut eorum, quibus populus potestatem dedit, aliquid derogare*, Cic. Inv. ii. 17.—*bis*: see Hist. of Rome, pp. 62, 96.—*parla*, i. q. *parata*.—*amittere*, ἀποβάλλειν, to let go, to lose. *Perdere* is διολύναι, to destroy, lose by destruction. Αἰσχίον δὲ ἔχοντας ἀφαιρεθῆναι ἡ κτωμένους ἀνυχῆσαι, Thuc. ii. 62.—18. *Dicet aliquis*, etc. *Quid censes igitur? aliquis vestrum subjecerit*, Fr. Hist. iii. 22. Εἰποι τις ἄν is a common phrase with Demosthenes.—*prodidere*, gave up, abandoned, betrayed.—*Non manu*, etc., i. e. *Censeo vero, sed non*, etc.—*fecisse, accidissee*. This seems to be an imitation of the poets' license in the use of the inf.—*quæstionibus*: see on § 7.—*indicio*, evidence: see Cat. l. 1.—19. *profecto*, of course.—*scilicet*. Ironical.—20. *nisi forte*, etc.: comp. Cat. xx. 17.—*illa tempora*, i. e. the times succeeding the murder of the Gracchi, when the oligarchs were omnipotent.—*hæc*, i. e. the present times, when the people had begun to recover some part of their power.—*paces*. Cato also used this plur.: Non. ii. 621. *Pacibus perfectis*, Plaut. Pers. v. 1, 1: comp. Hor. Ep. ii. 1, 121.—*imperatores*, i. e. *imperium tenentes*.—21. *impune*, i. e. *inulte*.—*casura*, i. e. *eventura*.—22. *quantum*, etc., i. e., such is their insolence and audacity. *Si contra importunissimos latrones arma cepi*, Cic. Fam. xii. 12. *Iste quamquam est incredibilis importunitate et audacia*, Cic. Verr. ii. 30.—*parum est*: see on § 9.—*nisi*, etc., i. e. they will resume their former course of action, unless, etc.—*deinde*, i. e. *in posterum*.—*per manus*, i. e. *vi*.—23. *fidei*, confidence.—25. *moneo*, etc.: see on x. 3.—*omittatis*, let pass.—*Non peculatus*, etc.: see Cat. lii. 6.—*venalis*, offered for sale, i. e. sold.—26. *vivamus*, be for the rest of our lives. It is stronger than *simus*.—27. *Neque ego*, etc., i. e. I do not wish to excite in you a love of punishing for the mere sake of it.—*ne*, i. e. *ut non*.—28. *Ad hoc*, etc. This is a true observation, and but too often acted on by rulers.—*neglegas*. Indef.—*aurili*, sc. *adversus injurias*, i. e. *vindictæ*.

XXXII. 1. *L. Cassius*, sc. *Longinus*. He was afterwards the colleague of Marius in his first consulate, and having Narbonese Gaul for his province, himself and his army were cut off by the Helvetians: see Cæs. B. G. i. 7; Liv. Epit. 65.—*interposita*, i. e. *data*.—*indicio*: comp. xxxi. 18.—*captæ* (i. e. *acceptæ*), sc. *causa*.—*arcessebant*, sc. *Memmius et populus judicio capitis*. *Ne quem unquam innocentem judicio capitis arcessas*, Cic. Off. ii. 14. *Non ficto crimine insectari, non expetere vitam, non capitis arcessere*, Id. pro Reg. Deiot. 11.—3. *traderent*, give back: see xxix. 6.—

—4. *vendere*, i. e. give him back for money.—*pacatis*, sc. *locis*, i. e. that were included in the truce.—*tanta*, etc. : comp. Cat. xxxvi. 5.—5. *perlata rogatione*, i. e. the bill being carried. For the formula whence *rogatio*, see on xxix. 6.—*timido*, i. e. *timenti*.—*minoris*, sc. *pretii*.—*Talis*, i. e. *tam magna*.—*de Cassio*, i. e. *de fide Cassii*.

XXXIII. 1. *Decus regium*, i. e. the dress and appearance suitable to a king. *Deiotarus depositis regiis insignibus neque tantum privato vestitu sed etiam reorum habitu supplex ad Cæsarem venit*, Auct. Bell. Alex. 57.—*cultu*, etc., i. e. *veste squalida, barba capillisque promissis*.—2. *confirmatus*, i. e. being advised and urged.—*quorum*, etc., sc. *adjutus*; or i. e. *cum quorum*, etc.—*parat*, he gains.—*injurias*, injury, i. e. punishment. *Dira fames, nostræque injuria cædis*, Virg. Æn. iii. 256.—3. *concione*, assembly, meeting.—*more majorum*, etc., i. e. by scourging and beheading.—*confirmare*, assert, assure.—*per sese*, i. e. as far as lay in him.—4. *Numidiæ* (dat.), i. e. *in Numidia*. He puts it in the dat. for the sake of uniformity.—*in patrem*, etc. Because he had been adopted by Micipsa.—*sociûs*. Kritz conjectures *socios*, and places it in the text.—*fore*, sc. *illum*.

XXXIV. 1. *Tribunus plebis*, sc. *ille*, ὁ δῆμαρχος.—*quæ ira fieri amat*. It is agreed by all that this is a Greek structure, for it is noticed as such by Quintilian, ix. 3; but the doubt is whether *ira* is a nom. or an abl.; what noun, in fact, is the nom. to *amat*. Corte says *quæ*, a nom. pl., but that would be a Hellenism utterly without example; Kritz would seem to make *ira* the governing noun, and this is perhaps the truth. The nom., however, may be *multitudo*, and *amat* be taken in its ordinary sense, and the meaning be, it likes to be done by anger, i. e. it likes to do when angry; *ira* being an abl. instr. It would not be a more unusual construction than *Quæ homines arant*, etc. (Cat. ii. 7), and other places in our author. The Greeks, as is well known, use their φιλεῖ in the sense of, is used to, is in the habit of, either absolutely, or with a nom., ex. gr. Πᾶσά τε ἰδία κατέστη θανάτου, καὶ ὅλον φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γίγνεσθαι, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ ξυνέβη, Thuc. iii. 81. Ὅπερ φιλεῖ δῆμος ποιεῖν, Id. viii. 1. The absolute form in which ὅλον, or ὅλα, is always joined with φιλεῖ, which is usually followed by γίγνεσθαι, is never used by the Latins, who express it by their *ut fit*; of the former, beside the present place, if it be one, and perhaps xli. 3, we have examples in Horace (Carm. ii. 3, 10; iii. 16, 9; Epod. 8, 16; Sat. i. 4, 87; 10, 60), and in Tacitus (Ann. iv. 9).—2. *ludibrio habitus*, baffled,

XXXV. 1. *Massiva* : see Excursus IV.—2. *Sp. Albinus*, sc. *Postumius*.—*invidia*, etc., i. e. the odium he was held in, and his own fear of the consequences.—3. *moveri*, to be stirred up, kept in motion.—*ipsi*, sc. *nam*.—4. *conscientia*, sc. *mali facinoris*, i. e. of the share they had already had in his iniquity.—*mala fama*, i. e. the ill repute that would follow such a deed.—*proxumo* : see on Cat. xiv. 3.—*nulla*, sc. *similia* ?—*insidiatores*. These answer to the *assassini* or *bravi* of modern Italy. The ordinary name for them was *sicarii*, and they were also called *percussores*. Their existence would have been unknown to us, had it not been for this place, and for Cic. Rosc. Amer. 27 and 38.—*paret*, i. e. hire : comp. xxxiii. 2.—*maxime occulte*, secretly if possible. These words are to be taken with *interficiat*.—5. *homines*, etc., i. e. men whose trade it was, who practised it, i. e. *insidiatores*.—*egressus*, his goings in and out. In the usual way it is of nearly the same sense as *itineris*.—*postremo*, in short : comp. xvi. 3.—*ubi res*, etc., i. e. when he had acquired all the knowledge of his habits that he wanted.—6. *ex eo numero*, i. e. of those : comp. xviii. 4 ; Cat. xxxii. 3.—*qui*, etc., i. e. whom he had hired for the purpose.—*paullo*, i. e. *sed paullo*.—*inconsultius*, incautiously.—*indiciū profitetur*, i. e. he makes a confession. *Et summum supplicium decernebatur, ni professus indicium foret*, Tac. Ann. vi. 3. *Qui profitetur indicium confuratorumque numerum auget*, Auct. Bell. Alex. 55.—7. *Fuit reus*, i. e. he was, as we say, taken and committed for trial.—*ex æquo bonoque*, i. e. from a principle of natural justice. According to Vattel (Book IV. ix. 124) Jugurtha should have surrendered him to justice. In 1654, Oliver Cromwell, a man who would not let substantial justice give way to international etiquette, executed the brother of the Portuguese ambassador for a murder, in spite of the interposition of the other foreign ambassadors : see our Hist. of England, iii. 49, 8vo edit.—8. *manifestus* (sc. *quamquam*), i. e. *manifestatus* : see on Cat. lii. 36.—9. *in priore actione*, i. e. in the commencement of the proceedings. The *actio prior*, or first day's hearing (when there was more than one), was occupied in hearing the charges and the evidence of witnesses for the prosecution : see the *actio prior* in the Verrine orations of Cicero.—*dederat*, sc. *pro eo*.—10. *venalem*, sc. *esse*. Or perhaps it would be better to take *urbem*, etc., as an exclamation, as Livy (Epit. 64) prefixes an *O*.

XXXVI. 1. *Maturat* : comp. Cat. xxvi. 3.—*portare*. For *qui facit per alios facit per se*.—*ante comitia*. It is probable that as his province was nearer to Rome than that of his colleague

(see xxxv. 3) he was required to return, to hold the elections.—2. *ludificare*. Kritz and Orelli read *ludificari*, on the authority of the grammarian Arusianus Messius.—3. *haud ignarum*, etc., i. e. that he was bribed.—*dolo*, sc. *malo* : see on Cat. xxvi. 2.—4. *pro prætore*, i. e. as his lieutenant-general : see on ciii. 4.

XXXVII. 1. *atrociter*, dreadfully : see on Cat. xxix. 2.—*continuate*, etc., i. e. to have themselves re-elected.—2. *totius anni*, of the whole year, i. e. all through the rest of the year : see Excursus VII.—3. *Ea mora*. Because Albinus could not leave Rome to resume the command of the army.—*mense Januario*, sc. of the following year ; for, as we shall see, there had been no elections yet.—*ex hibernis*, sc. *castris*.—*Sutkul* : see Excursus VI. 5.—*thesauri*, treasure, i. e. a part of his treasure.—*temporis*, i. q. *tempestatis*, the weather.—*opportunitate loci*, the advantage of the site.—4. *capi*, sc. *armis*, i. e. by assaults : comp. xxiii. 1.—*murum*, i. e. *oppidum*.—*situm*, i. q. *positum*, built. *Veterem aram Druso sitam disjecerant*, Tac. Ann. ii. 7.—*prærupti*, steep, sc. on all sides.—*extremo*, the extremity, the summit, top. It was like the hill-forts so common in India. Kritz observes that Sallust gives here the first example of an adj. thus used for a subst. ; in which he was followed by Livy and Tacitus. According to the preceding usage he should have said *in extremo monte*, as in *priori actione*, xxxv. 9. *In prima fabula*, Ter. Ad. Prol. 9.

XXXVIII. 1. *Vanitate*, emptiness, i. e. weakness.—*subdole*, i. e. *subdole*. Adj. for adv. after the manner of the poets : comp. xlv. 5 ; lii. 5 ; lxi. 5, etc.—*vitabundus*. This verbal (like all in *bundus*) is intensive of *vitans*.—*per saltuosa*, etc. A *saltus* is properly a forest of natural wood in the mountains ; a *trames*, a glen or narrow valley : see Serv. Geor. i. 108. The meaning is that Jugurtha kept among the hills.—2. *pactionis*, i. e. a private agreement, giving him money.—*abditas*, i. e. remote, out-o'-the-way.—*delicta*, i. e. *pactio*.—3. *temptabat*, i. e. *solicitabat*, tried to corrupt.—*duces turmarum*. These were to the cavalry what the centurions were to the infantry, captains of horse.—4. *ex sententia*, to his mind.—*intempesta nocte* : see on Cat. xxvii. 3.—5. *vis magna*, sc. *nam*.—6. *ex eo numero* : see on xxxv. 6.—*colors*. This was infantry. The Ligurians were hardy mountaineers. *Aduetumque malo Ligurem*, Virg. Geor. ii. 168.—*turmis*. The *turma*, or troop, contained thirty men. There were ten *turmæ* in the regiment of horse belonging to a legion.—*gregarius*, i. e. of the common men of the legion.—*centurio*, etc., i. e. the first

or oldest centurion of the Pilani or Triarii of a legion : see Hist. of Rome, p. 171 *seq.*—*munitionem*, i. e. *per eam partem munitionis seu valli*, i. e. the gate which had been given him in charge.—*ea*, sc. *parte* or *via* : comp. l. 6.—7. *proximum*, an adjoining.—8. *utarentur*, sc. *melius*, i. e. cut the Romans to pieces.—9. *sub jugum mittere*. This was a Roman, not a Numidian, custom, and Jugurtha uses it by way of insult. For this practice see Hist. of Rome, p. 90.—*præterea*, sc. *jubet, injungit*.—10. *quia mortis*, etc. Kritz says it is *quia propter mortis metum se mutabant*, i. e. *alia videbantur atque erant*. We cannot agree with this interpretation ; the nom. seems to be *milites*, and *ea* to be understood, and the construction to be the same as in *Velox amœnum sæpe Lucretilem Mutat Lycæo Faunus*, Hor. Carm. i. 17, 1. Gerlach and Orelli follow the MSS. which read *mutabantur*.—*pax convenit*, i. e. is agreed on, made. *In eas condiciones cum pax convenisset*, Liv. xxix. 12. *Bene ratio accepti et expensi inter nos convenit*, Plaut. Most. i. 3, 146.

XXXIX. 1. *Pro gloria*, i. e. *propter gloriam*.—*insolita*, unused to, unacquainted with. The more usual word is *insolens*.—*timere libertati*, i. e. lest Jugurtha should enslave the republic. It is hard to believe that any were so simple as to fear such a thing as this.—2. *consul Albinus*. There is a difficulty here which does not seem to have occurred to any of the critics : see on xxxvii. 2.—*invidiam*, etc., sc. *sibi*.—*consulebat*. It would hence appear that the question was brought more than once before the senate.—*supplementum*, i. e. recruits.—*ab sociis*, etc. : see Hist. of Rome, p. 168.—3. *fuerat*. We might have expected *erat*, but it seems to have been a usage of the Latin language to use the pluperf. instead of the imperf. of the verb *sum* and its compound *possum* : comp. xxvi. 3 ; xli. 5 ; Cat. xxxvii. 1. *Venisse eodem, socer ejus qui fuerat*, Q. Mucius dicebatur, Cic. de Orat. i. 7. *Nemo putabat quemquam esse qui, cum omnia divina jura polluisset, somnum statim capere potuisset*, Id. Rosc. Amer. 23. *Vitam, quam gloriosissime degere potuerat, immatura morte finivit*, Vell. Pat. ii. 3.—*injussu*, i. e. *sine jussu*.—4. *Consul*, etc. It is probable that, as they designed to accuse him before the people, they did not wish to give him an opportunity of effacing the disgrace of his troops by victories over Jugurtha.—*paucis diebus*, sc. *post senatus decretum*.—*in Africam*, for Africa, i. e. for the province so named, as appears by the following *nam*.—*uti convenerat* : see xxxviii. 10. *Trigemini, sicuti convenerat, arma capiunt*, Liv. i. 25.—5. *licentia*,

etc. Two nouns of nearly the same meaning as usual, and therefore the verb in the sing.—*ex copia rerum*, from the present state of things.

XL. 1. *C. Mamilius*, etc. As this was one of the tribunes of the year 642, it proves, if proof were wanted, that no elections had been held in that year.—*rogationem*: see on xxxii. 5.—*promulgat*, i. e. proposes, brings forward, introduces. Festus says that *promulgo* is quasi *provulgo*.—2. *partim*, sc. *nobiles*.—*partium*, i. e. *plebis*: see xli. 1.—*invidia*, envy and hatred.—*quin*, nay, on the contrary. *Te nec horror nec rogo ut domum redeas, quin hinc ipse evolare cupio*, Cic. Fam. vii. 30. *His miraculis nunquam ab ipso elusa fides est, quin potius aucta*, Liv. xxvi. 19. Even in this construction *quin* is *qui* (abl.) and *ne* i. q. *non*.—*per homines*, etc. The Latins and the allies had not as yet obtained the right of voting (see Hist. of Rome, p. 334); they could, therefore, only act by using their influence with such of their Roman friends as had the franchise, or, as Kritz says, by raising disturbances in the Comitia: comp. xl. 2, and see Plut. C. Gracch. 12, 13.—3. *jusserit*, etc.: see on Cat. xxix. 3.—*ea mala*, i. e. *judicia, damna, exilia*, which, as it will appear, were contained in the bill though he had not mentioned them.—*in partibus*, i. e. *in plebe*: comp. § 2.—4. *Igitur*. Because, as he says, there was little real *cura rei publicæ*.—*Scaurus*, etc. This is a convincing proof of his great power and influence in the state.—*fugam*, i. e. *metum*. He regards them as a defeated army.—*trepida*, i. e. being in a trepidation, not well knowing what they were doing.—*quæsitores*, i. e. extraordinary judges, as was the case in new measures of this kind, which, like our Bills of Pains and Penalties, were introduced in order to punish crimes which had been committed, but for which the law had not provided a penalty. The original word *quæstor* (which had been contracted to *quæstor*) was used to express this office, as also that of the prætor, in trials for life and death: see Ernest. Clav. Cic. vv. *Quæstor, Quæstio*.—5. *quæstio*, etc., i. e. the inquiry was prosecuted, etc.—*rumore*, common fame.—*ut sæpe*, sc. *nam*. Among those condemned and driven into exile by this law were Bestia, Albinus, Opimius, C. Cato, and C. Galba; this last being the first *sacerdos* that had been condemned since the building of the city, Cic. Brut. 34.

XLI. 1. *Mos*, i. e. this practice, custom of having, of the state being divided into.—*partium*, etc. The popular party, we thus see, was termed *partes*, that of the oligarchy *factio*. *Ut existat ex rege dominus, ex optimatibus factio*, Cic. Rep. i. 45.—*otia*,

etc., i. e. peace and plenty, as we would say.—*rerum, quæ*, etc. This is a very common construction, in which the relative refers to the sense rather than to the form of the antecedent.—2. *Nam ante*, etc., i. e. from the year 416: see Hist. of Rome, p. 140.—*modeste*, moderately, with justice and equity.—*rem publicam*, public affairs.—*civitatem*, i. q. *cives*: see on Cat. v. 8.—3. *illa formido*, i. e. *metus hostilis*. Perhaps there is an allusion to the *formido* or string with coloured feathers used in hunting and fowling: see on Virg. Geor. iii. 372.—*scilicet*, of course. Somewhat ironic.—*amant*: see on xxxiv. 1. We, however, would take the verb in its ordinary sense here.—5. *dignitatem*. Kritz, following some MSS., adds *in dominationem*. Other MSS. add *in superbiam*.—*lubidinem*, wantonness.—*omnia*, i. e. *omnes cives*: see on xiii. 6.—*res publica*, etc., i. e. the public affairs, the common weal. Kritz, we think, is wrong in understanding it of those citizens who were neutral, though that is the sense of τὰ μέσα in the following place of Thucydides (iii. 82), which Sallust, no doubt, had in his mind: τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων, ἢ ὅτι οὐ ξυνηγωνίζοντο, ἢ φθόνῳ τοῦ περιεῖναι, διεφθείροντο: see Arnold *in loc.* Livy appears to have imitated our author (ii. 57): *Dum tribuni consulesque ad se quisque omnia trahunt, nihil relictum est virium in medio; distractam laceratamque rempublicam magis quorum in manu sit quam ut incolumis sit queri*.—*fuerat*: see on xxxix. 3.—6. *factione*, i. e. by their close union.—*in multitudine*, i. e. among a great number; being, as we say, split up and divided.—7. *Paucorum*, τῶν ὀλίγων, sc. *igitur*.—*agitabatur* (impers.), affairs were managed.—*gloriæ*. This pl., which he uses here for the sake of uniformity, occurs also in Cic. Planc. 24; Tac. Ann. iii. 45; Gell. ii. 27.—8. *interea parentes*, etc.: see Hist. of Rome, p. 292, and the references given there.—9. *sine modo*, etc.: comp. Cat. xi. 4.—*nihil pensi*, etc.: see on Cat. xi. 4.—*quoad*, until. *Usque eo retinuit quoad renuntiatum est vicisse Bæotios*, Nep. Epam. 9.—10. *ex nobilitate*, etc., i. e. the Gracchi.—*permixtio terræ*, i. e. the throes of an earthquake.

XLII. 1. *Punico*, etc.: see Hist. of Rome, pp. 220, 277. The Gracchi were also grandsons of the elder Africanus: ib. p. 261.—*vindicare*, etc. As if they had been slaves: see on Hor. Sat. ii. 7, 76. — *paucorum*, τῶν ὀλίγων, the oligarchy: comp. xli. 7.—*modo per socios*, etc. For what is here mentioned see the chapter on the Gracchi in the Hist. of Rome.—*eo*, sc. *quod noxia erat*.—*perculsa*, sc. *metu*.—*ierat*, i. e. *iviit*.—*necaverat*, i. e. *necavit*.—3. *bono*, sc. *viro*.—4. *in reliquum*, sc. *tempus*—

addidit, i. e. *dedit*.—*pessum dedit*, aorist.—*ulcisci*, to punish; not to avenge their former defeats, as Kritz understands it. The whole of this place seems to have been imitated from Thuc. iii. 82, which he appears to have had in view when writing this digression.—*partium*, of parties, in a general sense.

XLIII. 1. *Q. Metellus*, sc. *Cæcilius*.—*M. Silanus*, sc. *Junius*.—*designati*: see on xxxix. 2.—*provincias*, i. e. those appointed for the consuls by the Sempronian law: see on Cat. xxvi. 4. These were Numidia and Gaul.—*partiverant*. Either by lot or by agreement.—*advorso*, sc. *viro*, i. e. an adversary, an opponent.—*æquabili*, of an even tenor, not going into excess on either side.—2. *alia omnia*, etc. Corte and Kritz say, that this means that he thought he should do all other things in conjunction with his colleague, but that the Numidian war fell to himself alone. Gerlach says that it is, reckoning that his colleague would also attend to other matters, he neglected them, and applied his mind to the war alone. Ruperti and Wasse, whom Orelli follows, say that the sense is, considering his business to be totally distinct from that of his colleague; in proof of which they quote the following passages: *Seorsum a collega puto mihi omnia paranda*, Cic. Fam. viii. 9. *Qui hæc sentitis in hanc partem, qui alia omnia in illam partem ite*, Plin. Ep. viii. 14, which last was a legal formula. Orelli says, that *cum* is to be taken in Sallust's usual manner, as equivalent to other prepositions; here of course to *ab*. But Sallust does not use *cum* in that licentious manner, or for any præposition, we believe, but *in*; and this sense seems very forced, and not justified by the proofs alleged in its favour. The only objection to the interpretation of Corte is, that the historian would only be saying what every one must have known, i. e. that the Jugurthine war was committed to Metellus. When we consider Sallust's fondness for antique and unusual expressions, and that the part. *ratus* is so frequently used in a passive sense, as *fixed*, *settled*, *arranged*, it may appear not impossible that he has used it here in that sense, but actively, as *reor* is a deponent. Thus, for example, Metellus may have arranged it so that Silanus should return to hold the elections, etc.—3. *præsidia*, i. e. *subsidia*, *auxilia*: see § 4: comp. xxxix. 2.—*vario*. On account of the nature of the country, and of its being necessary to form sieges as well as to give battles.—4. *reges*. We know not who these could be, unless they were the princes of Thrace; for he could hardly have applied to any of those of Asia. The Romans had Thracians in their service in this war: see xxxviii. 6.

It may, however, be only an instance of Sallust's custom of using established forms of speech: comp. lxxxvii. 2.—*auxilia*, i. q. *præsidia*, § 3.—5. *ex sententia*, to his satisfaction.—*bonas artis*, his good qualities in general.—*invictum*, invincible: see on ii. 3.

XLIV. 1. *Africam*, i. e. *provinciam*.—*patiens*, i. e. able to endure.—*ex sociis*, i. e. *ex agro sociorum*: comp. lxxxviii. 3.—2. *imperio*, sc. *ducis*.—*modestia* (sc. *militum*), i. e. obedience and good conduct.—3. *æstivorum tempus*, i. e. the season for military operations, the time for the campaign. This word exactly expresses the Latin *æstiva*, sc. *tempora*. *Nulla ex trinis æstivis gratulatio*, Cic. in Pis. 40. *Aliis rebus additis, æstivisque confectis*, Id. ad Fam. iii. 9.—*comitiorum mora*: see on xxxvii. 2.—*intentos*, on the stretch.—*putabat*, judged, supposed.—*laborare*. Because the *majorum disciplina* obliged them to labour hard at various kinds of work, such as digging trenches, etc.—4. *quantum*, etc., i. e. before Metellus came out to take the command.—*stativis castris*. So a camp, in which the troops remained for any length of time, was named, in opposition to that which was formed at the end of the day's march.—*odos*, sc. *malus*. We also thus use the word *smell*.—5. *neque muniebantur ea*. These words are omitted in nearly all the MSS., and were in no edition but that of Popma (1564), till Gerlach placed them in the text, but in brackets. They have, however, been found by Mai in the *Excerpt. Sallust.* of Fronto.—*deducebantur*, were set. Because the guards were, as it were, led down to the *stationes*, or places of guard, without the gates.—*ab signis aberat*, i. e. was absent without leave.—*līxæ*. Under this word seems to have been included both the suttlers and the camp-followers in general. Festus derives it from *liceo*; Nonius from *līxa*, i. q. *aqua*; Corte from *laxus*; Lindemann (ad Fest. s. v.) from *līgo*. None of these is very probable.—*advectitio*, foreign, imported. Africa is not a wine country.—*frumentum*, etc. Instead of bread, the corn for the month's consumption was issued every month to the Roman soldier, and a portable hand-mill formed part of his baggage. These demoralised troops, we see, sold their corn, and bought bread, as they wanted it, out of the produce of their maraudings.

XLV. 1. *ambitionem*. The sense of this word here is, perhaps, best expressed by our *currying favour*. It means, passing over their faults, with a view to their good will, and their votes and influence at elections, etc.—*moderatum*, sc. *est ab eo*. Kritz

takes it as i. q. *moderantem* (in the usual way of dep. participles), and agreeing with *Metellum*.—2. *edicto*, i. e. by issuing a general order. It is an abl. abs. of the part., the subst. being *ne quisquam*, etc.—*sustulisse*, sc. *comperior*.—*coctum cibum*. By this seems to be meant *fritum cicer*, and things of that kind, and *olus* rather than butchers' meat : see on Hor. A. P. 249.—*ceteris*, i. e. the officers, according to Corte and Gerlach. But it is better, with Kritz and others, to say sc. *rebus*.—*arte*, i. e. *prudentia*, *prudenter*.—*modum statuisset*, i. e. to have remedied.—*transvorsis itineribus*, i. e. backwards and forwards, in different directions.—*crebris*, numerous, at short distances from each other.—*in agmine*, in the line of march.—*cum signis*, etc., i. e. keep close to their standards, not go straggling.—*cibum*, etc. This was the old Roman discipline.—3. *confirmavit*, i. e. brought into a proper condition, rendered effective.

XLVI. 1. *innocentia*, inaccessibility to bribes : see on Cat. xii. 1.—2. *supplicii*, prayers : comp. lvi. 2 : see on Cat. ix. 2. Corte and Gerlach say they are the *ἱκετηρία* of the Greeks, “quæ caduceatores portant . . . ex verbera felicitis arboris,” Fest. s. v.—3. *jam antea*, etc., i. e. he had already had abundant proof, etc. He had been quite long enough in Africa to have had this experience, and we need not, with Kritz, refer it to that of his predecessors.—4. *adgreditur*, assails, makes trial of.—*opportunus*, i. e. to his purpose.—*palam*, i. e. *pro consilio* : see xxix. 5.—*ex voluntate*, sc. *sua*, what his will was.—5. *intento*, i. e. in good order and discipline.—*infesto*, i. e. in martial array.—*mapalibus*, villages : see on xviii. 8.—*commeatum*, supplies and stores of various kinds.—*portare*, to bring.—6. *ostentui*, a mere blind.—7. *expeditis*, i. e. without baggage.—*curabat* : see Cat. lix. 3.—*præfectis cohortium* (sc. *auxiliarium*), the commanders of the auxiliary cohorts. We believe that when *cohortes* is thus joined with *legiones*, it always means the auxiliaries ; and as we have no where met with *præfectus* used for the officer in command of a legionary cohort, we cannot, with Kritz, take that to be its meaning in this place. The auxiliaries were divided into cohorts, but not formed into legions, and their *præfecti* answered to the legionary tribunes.—*velites* : see Hist. of Rome, p. 173.—*accederent equitalus*. This is almost the earliest instance (for there is one at least in Cæsar, Bell. Gall. ii. 6) of the subst. collect. governing a verb in the plur., which so often occurs in the poets, and in the use of which Livy seems to have delighted.—8. *pacem*, sc. *agens*. By zeugma.

XLVII. 1. *Vaga*: see xxix. 4.—*forum*, etc. (*ἡ ἀγορά*), i. e. the most frequented market in the whole kingdom.—2. *Huc consul*, sc. *pergit*?—*temptandi*, i. e. trying if they would let him.—*opportunitate*, i. e. *propter opportunitatem*. This reading is the conjecture of Gruter, and it has been adopted by Gerlach and Kritz: comp. xlviii. 2; that of the MSS. is *opportunitates*, by which Corte understands the defences of the town. Orelli and Allen read *opportunitatis*.—*inposuit*. Instead of *inponendi*, *quod fecit*. For this structure see on Hor. Sat. i. 3, 120.—*alia*, etc., i. e. *commeatum*.—*id*, sc. *feri eventurum*.—*res monebat*, i. e. the thing itself, the circumstances of the place suggested as likely.—*frequentiam*, etc. This is a difficult place. The best interpretation seems to be that of Kritz: the army would be benefited by the abundance of supplies caused by the resort of such a number of traders, and so be able to husband the stores which had been already laid in.—*juvaturum exercitum*. These words are wanting in some MSS. and in some of the old editions. Some editors also, including Corte and Gerlach, are for rejecting them. Their principal reason is, that as *juvavi*, *juvatum* do not occur, *juvaturus* is a very suspicious term. But, as Kritz observes, Horace (Sat. i. 4, 44) uses *sonaturum*, and yet we nowhere find *sonavi*, *sonatum*; Cicero (ad Fam. i. 8, 8) and others, *præstaturus*, though *præstavi* and *præstatum* are unknown. So *fruiturus* and *tuiturus* occur, but not *fruitus* and *tuitus*; and *doliturus* and *cariturus*, and not *dolitus* and *caritus*. We should remember that we have not the whole of the Latin language, and that many words may have been in use which do not occur in the authors which we possess.—3. *inpensius modo*, i. e. beyond measure, urgently. *Modo* (abl.) is *quam modus erat*: comp. lxxv. 1.—*dedere*, i. e. offer to surrender.

XLVIII. 1. *alienata*, i. e. come into the possession of another.—*ager*, the country.—*templati*, tampered with.—2. *loci*, i. e. of the place where he knew Metellus was to pass, and where he resolved to engage him.—*tramites*: see on xxxviii. 1.—3. *in ea parte*, etc., i. e. the part surrounding the province.—*Muthul*. This is the northern branch of the Bagrada, now called the *Sujerass*.—*in divisione*, i. e. when it was divided: see xvi. 5.—*mons*, i. e. a mountain-range.—*tractu pari*, i. e. running parallel to it.—*vastus*, i. e. *vastatus*, made waste or desert.—*ab natura*, etc. Ablatives instrum.—*humano cultu*, i. e. the want of it. The præp. *ab* expresses the instrument. *Ab doctoribus atque doctrina instructi*, Cic. Off. i. 44. *Ab equitatu firmus*, Id. ad Fam.

x. 15.—*ex eo medio quasi*, i. e. from about the middle of it.—*collis*, a hill, what we call a *spur*. It ran at right angles from the *mons* toward the river.—*in immensum*, to a great length. *Pro-ruta per immensum ædificia*, Tac. Ann. xv. 40. It is used to express an indefinite extent, as without measure.—*pertingens*, stretching. The more usual word is *pertinens*; but this is the reading of all the MSS., and Sallust was, we know, fond of unusual forms.—*vestitus*. We ourselves use *clothed* in the same way. We have seen the myrtles growing in this way on the sides of the mountains in Italy, but not to the height here described. A wild species of myrtle grows in this manner also on the mountains at the lakes of Killarney, in Ireland.—4. *media*, i. e. between the mountain and the river.—*penuria*, want of. Abl. causal.—*consita*, overgrown (like *obsitus*). It was natural wood.—*arbustus*, i. e. *arboribus*: comp. liii. 3.

XLIX. 1. *Transverso itinere*, across, in a transverse direction. This is a frequent sense of *iter* in Sallust.—*extenuata*, i. e. *extensa*, in length without depth.—*elephantis*, etc., i. e. on the part of the hill toward the river: see lii. 5.—*propior montem*, i. e. taking his station on the part of the hill nearer to the mountain-range,—*cum*, etc. This is a curious construction. The meaning is, his own part of the army consisting of (*cum*) all the horse and select infantry.—2. *manipulos*, sc. *peditum*.—*monet*, etc.: see x. 3.—*prudentes*, acquainted with the country.—*ne*, i. e. *ut non*.—3. *confirmaturum*, establish, give the finishing stroke to.—4. *pecunia*, sc. *donarat*. By zeugma.—*monte degrediens*, coming down the side of the mountain. He was crossing this range on his march for the river.—*conspicatur*, sc. *insolitam faciem*. This is the reading given by Donatus (Ter. Eun. ii. 3, 93), that of all the MSS. being *conspicitur*. *Ex loco superiore quæ res in nostris castris gererentur conspicatus*, Cæs. Bell. Gall. ii. 26.—5. *facies*, appearance.—*ostenderet* (like *portenderet*), meant, indicated.—*humilitate*, i. e. *propter humilitatem*: see on xlvii. 2.—*incerti*. This may be *uncertain*, undefined in a passive sense. *Italicos, incertos socii ac hostes essent, in postremam aciem submotos*, Liv. xxx. 35. In which way *certus* is constantly used. Here, however, its meaning seems rather to be *incertum facientes*. Even in our own language some of the poets use adjectives and participles in a causal sense. Thus Milton has “in *wandering* mazes lost;” Gray, “their *murmuring* labours ply;” and Collins, “This lofty mountain’s *weary side*.”—*quidnam esset*, sc. *facies*.—*paulisper*, etc., i. e. he made a short halt.—6. *Ibi*, etc. The meaning of this very difficult place seems to be, that when Metellus made the halt,

he drew up his men in the usual line of battle facing the hill which was on their right, i. e. to the east, as the mountain-range would appear to have lain south of the river; then by each man's facing to the left he would front the river, and so could march for it, while if the enemy should advance to the attack, by facing to the right the troops would fall at once into line of battle: see the order of march xlv. 7.—*commutatis ordinibus*, i. e. having changed the places of the *ordines*. The *ordo* or *centuria* was the company commanded by a centurion.—*triplicibus subsidiis*, i. e. in the three usual lines or divisions of Hastats, Principes, and Triarians. This use of the word *subsidium*, which properly was used only of the Triarians, is very uncommon, but as he uses *præsidia* for *subsidia*, xliii. 3, he may do the reverse here. Gerlach, referring to Cæsar's tactics at Pharsalia (Bell. Civ. iii. 89), says that he drew the troops up in four lines.—*inter manipulos*, etc.: see Scipio's order of battle at Zama, Hist. of Rome, p. 251. In the previous line of march (xlv. 7) these light troops had been at the head of the column. They were now placed among the *manipuli*, that they might be able to issue forth from the whole length of the line to begin the action.—*equitatum omnem*, etc. The cavalry had been previously on the flanks and in the rear.—*in cornibus*, i. e. on the two wings of the army as it stood in battle-array, and therefore in the front and rear when it resumed its march.—*transvorsis principiis*, i. e. having made the men of the front rank (and consequently all the rest) wheel to the left in the manner above described. *Principia*, i. q. *principes*. *Primani stratis unaetvicesimanorum principiis aquilam abstulere*, Tac. Hist. ii. 43.

L. 1. *Expeditis cohortibus*, i. e. with some light cohorts, i. e. who left their *impedimenta* behind them with the rest of the army. *Ipsæ cum quatuor legionibus expeditis et reliquo equitatu subsequar*, Cic. Fam. x. 15. This, we think, is better than to understand here light troops (*levis armatura*); for the *cohors* or regiment was always, we believe, a division of the legion or brigade.—*transvorsis præliis*, i. e. attacks on the flanks.—*lassitudinem*, etc., i. e. would try the effect of fatigue and thirst on the troops, by impeding their progress. *Ne tentata quidem hostis misericordia*, Vell. Pat. ii. 71.—2. *sicuti*, in the same order.—*post principia*, i. e. within the line of march on the right flank.—*ipse*, etc.: see on xlix. 6.—*principes*, i. e. the first, the leaders.—3. *extremum agmen*, i. e. the end of the line of march.—*primos*, i. e. those next the mountain.—4. *incerto prælio*, i. e. irregular mode of fighting.—*modo*, only.—5. *ante jam*, sc. *nam*.—*confertim*,

in a body.—*in unum*, sc. *locum*.—*sese*, etc., retired.—6. *numero priores* (sc. *Numidæ*), superior in number.—*disjectos*, scattered.—*fugæ*, sc. *Numidarum*.—*ea*, sc. *via* or *parte*: comp. xviii. 2; xxxviii. 6.—*insolentia*, ignorance of, want of acquaintance with.

LI. 1. *Dispersi*, sc. *Romani*.—*observare*, to keep. It is intensive of *servare*.—*resistere*, stop, stand firmly. Intensive of *sistere*.—*cives*, i. e. *Romani*.—3. *Eorum*, sc. *hostium*: comp. liv. 10; lxii. 4.—4. *illis*, sc. *Romanis*.—5. *dubius*, wavering.—*delectis*, sc. *equitibus*, i. e. his body-guard: comp. liv. 4.—*retinere*, to keep from, sc. advancing.

LII. 1. *Ipsi*, i. e. in themselves.—3. *die*, i. e. *diei*.—*advorso colle evadunt*, i. e. they ascend the hill that was before them: lit. they get out of the plain by the hill, etc. *Advorso colle*, like *recta via*, etc.—4. *ignara*, i. e. *ignota*: see on xviii. 6.—5. *æquum locum*, i. e. the plain.—*ubique*, i. e. *et ubi*: see on Cat. xxiii. 4.—6. *vacuum*, sc. *a curis*.—*arte*, i. q. *arcte*.—*quo*. This belongs to *latius porrigit*.

LIII. 1. *Prohibebat*, i. e. *impediebat*.—*humum*, etc. In those light sandy regions, as is well-known, the wind raises great clouds of sand.—*æquabilem* (sc. *vim pulveris*), steady, not varying.—*pro*, out before.—3. *remorati*. Intensive of *morati*.—*circumveniri*, sc. *et cædi*: see on xx. 6.—5. *opere castrorum*, i. e. the labour of forming the camp.—*fessi lassique*, tired and weary; in Sallust's usual manner. The reading of all the MSS. but six is *fessi læti que*.—*amplius opinione*, i. e. longer than they thought he should.—*instructi*, etc., i. e. in marching and fighting order.—7. *primo*, etc., i. e. just as it fell dark.—*tumultum*, confusion and uneasiness.—*inprudencia*, ignorance.—8. *bonos*, i. e. *fortes*.—*detractant*, humble. Lit. pull down.

LIV. 1. *Cum cura*. The præp. (Sallust's favourite one) is not necessary here. *Magna cum cura ego illum curari volo*, Plaut. Men. v. 4, 7. Livy also uses it frequently.—*more militiæ*, i. q. *more militari*, xlv. 5.—*agit gratias*, sc. *universis*: see on Cat. iv. 1.—2. *Tamen*, nevertheless, though he spoke thus confidently to his men.—*ubi gentium*, sc. *sit*.—*sese gereret*, i. e. behaved.—3. *exercitum*, sc. *alterum*.—*cultorem*, i. e. used to, acquainted with.—4. *ea gratia*, on this account, for this reason. *Sed hoc agamus, qua huc ventum est gratia*, Plaut. Truc. Prol. 9. *Qui nihil ocius venit tamen hac gratia*, Id. Stich. v. 1, 5.—*ex fuga*. This is more than *in fuga*, as it expresses that out of the body of fugitives, etc. *Cum plerique se ex fuga in templum Minervæ conjecissent*, Nep. Ages. 4.—5. *iniquum*, unequal, unfavourable. The

great majority of the MSS. read *inimicum*.—*statuit*, sc. *apud se*.—*non praelius*, etc. By *praelius* he seems to mean any kind of engagements in the field, as skirmishes, etc.; by *acie*, a pitched battle. *Neque aciem aut praelium dici decuerit in quo semermes ac palantes trucidati sunt sine nostro sanguine*, Tac. Ann. iii. 39.—6. *temere*, slightly.—*esse*, sc. *sinit*. Zeugma.—*Ea*, i. e. *ejus rei*.—*ubicunque*, etc. This does not depend on *ea* *formidine*. It is merely an additional circumstance.—7. *negotia*, i. e. *res*.—*male*, unsuccessfully.—8. *sua*, i. e. *commoda*, advantageous: comp. lxi. 1; lxvi. 1. *Cum Perseus suo maxime tempore et alieno hostibus incipere bellum posset*, Liv. xlii. 43.—9. *ex copia*, sc. *consiliorum*. This is the reading of only two MSS., but adopted by Corte and all the later editors. The other MSS. read *ex inopia*.—*exercitum plerumque*, the greater part of his army: comp. xviii. 12; lxxix. 2; Cat. xxiii. 6; xxxviii. 2.—*ignoratus*, concealed by. It is to be taken with *nocturnis*, etc.—10. *intactus*, i. e. *integer*, *non vulneratus*.

LV. 1. *Exercitum*, sc. *haberet*. By zeugma in *gerere*.—*in adorso loco*, sc. *quamvis*.—*magnificum*, elated: comp. xxxi. 10.—2. *supplicia*, i. e. *supplicationes*: see Cat. ix. 2.—3. *opportunitus fieret*, i. e. give an opportunity of attacking him to advantage.—*post gloriam* (i. e. *gloria parta*), that after glory envy follows.—4. *anxius*, watchful, careful.—*effuso exercitu*, i. e. with the troops spread about and scattered.—*cohortes*, sc. *aliqui*.—*praesidium agitabant*, i. e. were sent out to be at hand to protect the foragers.—*reliquos*, sc. *militēs*. By synesis.—5. *præda*, i. e. *prædando*. It signifies the act as well as the object. *Saræ se et Caphoni tradiderunt, ad facinus prædamque natis*, Cic. Phil. xi. 14.—6. *Duobus*, etc., i. e. they used to encamp separately.—7. *ceterum* (sc. *negotium*), i. e. *cetera*.—8. *pugnæ* (dat.), i. e. *pugnando*.—*corrumpere*, destroy: lit. utterly break up.—*otium pati*, sc. *hosti*.—*ab incepto retinere*, i. e. prevent him from doing what he intended.

LVI. 1. *Arcem regni*, i. e. the great fortress which served for a defence to the rest.—*Zamam*: see Excurs. VI. 2.—*id quod*, etc., i. e. as was natural, as was likely.—2. *quia fallere nequibat*. When the Romans got any of their deserters into their hands they always put them to death without mercy.—*in tempore*, sc. *opportuno* or *idoneo*.—3. *ex itinere*, i. e. off of the line of march: see on liv. 4.—*Siccam*, Σίγα: see Excurs. VI. 3.—4. *pugnam facit*, μάχην ποιῆι, i. e. attacks.—*casum dare*, sc. *clamat*. Zeugma.—*in regno*, in royalty, as a king: see on x. 1.—5. *inferre*, sc. *in milites Jugurthinos*.—*sese agunt*, act, conduct themselves. It is a phrase

hardly to be found elsewhere.—6. *sustentati*, i. e. kept to their duty : comp. ci. 9.

LVII. 1. *Opere*, sc. *hominum*, art.—*opulentum*, abounding in, well supplied with : see on Cat. vi. 3.—2. *cuncta mœnia*, i. e. the whole circuit of the walls.—*circumvenit* : comp. lxxvi. 2.—*curaret*, commands : see on Cat. lix. 3.—3. *tumultu*, confusion, perturbation.—4. *pro ingenio*. This ought to denote, according to the kind of troops to which he belonged, rather than, as Corte explains it, “*ut cuique indoles natura erat, nempe ut audaces aut timidi erant* ;” for each kind of troops had its peculiar weapons : see, however, § 6.—*glande* (collective), with bullets from their slings.—*succedere*, sc. *muro*.—*manibus*, i. e. *cominus*.—*pice*, etc. There are many various readings here, and great confusion among the editors. The reading *pice* is that of four MSS. followed by Kritz ; the others read *picem*. This practice of rolling down casks (for such we must suppose here) filled with splinters of fir wood and inflammable substances, is mentioned more than once in the accounts of Cæsar’s wars. *Oppidani cupas sevo, pice, scindulis complent, eas ardentes in opera provolvunt*, Bell. Gall. viii. 42. *Cupas tæda ac pice refertas incendunt, easque de muro in musculum devolvunt*, Bell. Civ. ii. 11. *Completas onerarias naves tæda et pice et stupa reliquisque rebus quæ sunt ad incendia in Pomponianum classem immisit*, Ib. iii. 101.—5. *satis*, i. e. *bene*.—*tormentis*, the engines.

LVIII. 1. *Remissis*, i. e. *incautis, minime intentis* : comp. liii. 6 ; lxxviii. 2.—*omnia*, etc., i. e. *nihil minus quam*.—2. *pro moribus*, i. e. according to their habits and natural disposition.—3. *nominis Romani*, i. e. that they were Romans.—*frustrati*, i. e. missed their aim.—4. *popularis*, i. e. of his own people.—5. *sociorum*, i. e. the Italians, as the Marsians and others : see xliii. 4. They were some of the best troops in the Roman armies.—*inultos*, unpunished.—6. *brevi*, sc. *tempore*.—*munimento*, i. e. *vallo*.—*quom*, etc. The cause of his losing so many men.—7. *infecto negotio*, sc. *apud oppidum*.

LIX. 1. *agitare*, i. e. to patrol.—*proxuma*, sc. *portis*.—2. *nostros*, i. e. *equitatum*.—*qui in proxumo*, etc., i. e. those who were most in advance.—3. *pedites*, etc. : see Hist. of Greece, p. 211.—*in congressu*, in the engagement.—*illi*, sc. *equites*.—*solet*, sc. *fieri a Numidis*.—*advorsis equis*, i. e. charging boldly.—*aciem*, the line. We are to remember that it was a cavalry-action on both sides.—*expeditis peditibus*, a dat. Kritz says an abl. instrum.—*victos dare*. This use of *dare* is frequent in the comic poets. *Nunc*

ego lenonem ita hodie intricatum dabo, Plaut. Pers. iv. 1, 9. *Eum adeo exornatum dabo, adeo pexum, ut meminerit semper mei*, Ter. Heaut. v. 1, 77. *Sic stratas legiones Latinorum dabo*, Liv. viii. 6.

LX. 1. *eo*, sc. *loco*, abl. *Prætores tribunalia ad Piscinam publicam posuerunt; eo vadimonia fieri jusserunt*, Liv. xxiii. 32.—*pariter*, etc., i. e. *in sese spem habere*.—*obpugnare*, etc., sc. *Romanos et oppidanos*.—*parare*, sc. *quæ usui forent*.—3. *paululum modo*, i. e. ever so little, for ever so short a time.—4. *sicuti*, as if: comp. Cat. xxxi. 5; xxxviii. 3. Kritz, as if it were *sicubi*, renders it, wherever or whenever, quite forgetting that the cavalry-action was on the other side of the Roman camp, and so at a good distance from the town.—5. *rei*, i. e. of taking the town by assault.—*sine tumultu*, i. e. undisturbed.—6. *studio suorum*, i. e. by the deep interest they took in the fortunes of their countrymen.—*astrictis*, tied and bound, as it were. *Religione deum astrictus*, Curt. vi. 8.—*egressi*, mounting: comp. xciii. 2.—*ingerunt*, i. e. shower down on them.—7. *unæ*: see on Cat. vi. 2.—*adfecti*, dashed to the ground.

LXI. 1. *frustra*, sc. *esse*.—*suo loco*: see on liv. 8.—*loco*, etc., i. e. by nature or art.—2. *ceterum exercitum*, i. e. the rest of the army. Gerlach says that *ceterum* is here i. q. *reliquum*, and Kritz, who is rather too fond of seeking the *nodum in scirpo*, labours to show that there is a great difference, and that by *ceterum* is meant that part of the army which, if added to what was left in garrison, would make it complete. The proof which he gives from Cat. lix. 2 and 5, shows, we think, that there is no difference.—*in provinciam*, i. e. *in eam partem provinciæ*: comp. lxxviii. 5. He uses the acc., Kritz says, on account of *collocat*, in which verb “*notio mittendi ac motus prævalet*.”—3. *aliorum*, sc. *imperatorum*.—4. *qui Romæ*, etc.: see xxxv.—*de nece*, i. e. out of, arising from the murder.—5. *occultus*, i. e. *occulte*.—*fide data*, i. e. giving him his honour.—*sua omnia*, i. e. his whole property. Perhaps there is a zeugma of *relinquent*.

LXII. 1. *opportunum*, sc. *tempus*.—*miserantem*, bewailing: comp. xxiii. 2.—*aliquando*, now at last: comp. xiv. 21; Cat. lii. 5.—*sibi consulant* (euphemism), provide for themselves, i. e. make peace, and give him up to the Romans.—3. *imperata facturum*. This was the usual formula of surrender: comp. xlvi. 5; lxxvii. 3; cxii. 2.—*pactione*, i. e. stipulations. The surrender was to be unconditional.—*tradere*, not *traditurum*, because they were to make the surrender.—4. *aliorum*, etc., i. e.

the Equites, and other respectable persons, who were not senators.—5. *Ita more majorum*, etc. *More majorum* is to be taken with *consili decreto*, and not with *imperat*.—*legatos*, τοὺς πρέσβεις, i. e. those who had come from Jugurtha.—*imperat*, sc. *reddere*.—*pondo*, in weight. It is an abl. of an obsolete noun, *pondus*, -i. When thus placed alone, *libræ*, or one of its cases, is always to be understood: see Zumpt, § 87. The quantity here mentioned amounted to about 600,000*l.* sterling.—8. *ad imperandum*, i. e. *ut Metellus ei imperaret*. We agree with Kritz in thinking that the gerund is always active: see his elaborate note on this place.—*Tisidium*. This name does not occur elsewhere. It is, perhaps, the same as Tisdra (Bell. Afric. 36), or as the Τισαῖοι of Strabo. It would seem, however, to have been in the province.—*digna*, sc. *suis facinoribus*, what he deserved.—9. *regno*, royalty: see lvi. 4.—*præsidius*, sc. *belli*, i. e. means of carrying on the war: see § 5.—10. *Et*. This word seems useless.—*consultus*, sc. by one of the consuls of the year 643, Ser. Sulpicius Galba, or M. Æmilius Scaurus.—*Metello*, sc. *pro consule*.

LXIII. 1. *Per idem tempus*, i. e. while the troops were in winter-quarters.—*per hostias*, etc., i. e. by slaying victims in honour of the gods, and endeavouring to learn their will by inspection of the entrails. Marius was eminently superstitious: see Plut. Mar. 8. He was very skilful himself in the interpretation of signs and omens; Val. Max. i. 5, 5.—*quam sæpissime*, as often as he could.—*cuncta*, sc. *nam*.—2. *præter vetustatem familiæ*. He was a *novus homo* (Cat. xxiii. 6), not of one of the old families at Rome.—*animus*, etc., i. e. he was brave in war, moderate and content with little in peace.—*belli*, i. e. *militiæ*.—3. *Sed* (δέ, now), etc. For his previous career, see Hist. of Rome, p. 318.—*omnem*, i. e. *per omnem*.—*stipendius*, campaigns, something like what we call foreign service.—*Græca facundia*, i. e. in the study of Greek. He uses the word *facundia*, as the Greeks were remarkable for their command of language and flow of words.—*urbanis munditiis* (sc. *se dedit*, zeugma), town-elegance, i. e. luxury.—*inter*, i. e. in the exercise of.—*adolevit*, i. e. grew up, attained its full size and strength.—4. *tribunatum*, etc.: see Hist. of Rome, p. 126.—*notus*. His deeds were known by those who knew him not personally.—*declaratur*, sc. *tribunus*.—5. *magistratu*. This is a most unusual employment of this term, which always supposes civil authority.—*potestatibus*. This word also denotes civil authority.—*agitabat*, i. e. *agebat*.—6. *ad id locorum*, i. e. *ad hoc tempus*, up to this time: see Zumpt, § 434.—*talis*, i. e. *tam eximius*: see on x. 8.—*præceps*, etc.: see on

Cat. xxxvii. 4.—*petere*, sc. *consulatum*: see § 2.—*plebes*, sc. *petebat* or *gerebat*.—*per manus*, from hand to hand.—7. *egregius*. This is the reading of a great many MSS., and adopted by Kritz. The usual reading is *egregius*.—*is*. This is added for the sake of emphasis (Zumpt, § 539), for *quin* is *qui ne*.—*pollutus*, unclean, morally foul: comp. Cat. xxiii. 6: see Cic. Verr. v. 70.

LXIV. 1. *Petundi*, sc. *consulatum*.—*missionem*, i. e. *commeatum*, leave of absence.—*gloria*, high reputation, the French *gloire*.—*optanda*, i. e. *optabilia*.—*superabant*, i. e. *abunde erant*: see on Cat. xx. 11.—*malum*, evil, disease.—2. *super fortunam*, i. e. above his condition and rank in society.—*res suas*, i. e. the present state of his affairs.—*satis*, i. e. *bene*.—*illi*, etc., sc. *ab eo*.—3. *per negotia publica*, i. e. when the public service would allow of it.—4. *ne festinaret abire*, etc. There is a bitter irony in this. He tells him not to be in a hurry, it will be time enough for him to look for the consulate when his (Metellus') son would be qualified to be one of the candidates, i. e. twenty-three years thence; the age for the consulate being forty-three, by the Lex Villia Annalis, passed A. U. 574.—*contubernio*. A *contubernium* was the *mess*, as we may term it, of eleven soldiers who lived in the one tent; but it was also used of the young noblemen, who accompanied and lived with a general, in order to acquire a knowledge of military affairs, and of the government of provinces. *Stipendia prima in Asia fecit M. Thermi prætoris contubernio*, Suet. Jul. 2. *Cum paullum roboris accessisset ætati, in Africam profectus est Q. Pompeio proconsuli contubernalis*, Cic. pro Cæl. 30.—*quem adfectabat*, i. e. *ad quem adfectabat*, sc. *viam*: see on Virg. Geor. iv. 562. *Facto* (whence *factito*) is the freq. of *facio*.—*accenderat*, i. e. *accendit*.—5. *Ita*, sc. *cum*, or *impulsus*. These passions, were, as it were, his companions and advisers.—*grassari*. *Grassor* is the freq. of *gradior*.—*ambitosum*, i. e. calculated to gain popularity: see on xlv. 1.—*criminoſe*, sc. *in Metellum*.—*magnifice*, sc. *de se*.—*de bello*, i. e. when speaking of the war.—*permitteretur*, sc. *si*, a most common ellipse: see on Hor. Sat. i. 3, 16.—*habiturum*, sc. *se*.—*trahi*, sc. *bellum*.—*nimis*, i. e. *magnopere*.—6. *firmiora*, the more certain, more likely to be the case.—*conruperant*, i. e. they had injured or wasted, i. e. their property had sustained injury: comp. Cat. xliii. 3.

LXV. 1. *Gauda*: see Excursus IV.—*secundum*, etc., i. e. had made him heir in remainder, so that in case of the next heirs dying, or not taking the inheritance, he was to come in for it.—*mente*, etc., i. e. rather weak in intellect.—2. *more regum*, etc., i. e. that he would, as was usual with royal personages, place a

seat for him beside that of himself, who was the representative of the Roman republic. This is the earliest notice that we find of this usage. *Tridatem perductum in theatrum juxta se latere dextro collocavit*, Suet. Ner. 13. *Vitellius Valentem et Cæcinam, pro concione laudatos, curuli suæ circumposuit*, Tac. Hist. ii. 59. The subject of *poneret* may also be Gauda.—*turmam*, sc. *uti darent*. By zeugma.—*quos populus*, etc., i. e. whose title the Romans had acknowledged by styling them kings. This was held to be a great honour, and was only conceded to those who had rendered services to the republic: see xxiv. 3; Liv. xxx. 15; xxxi. 11; Cæs. Bell. Gall. i. 43; Tac. Ann. iv. 26.—*contumeliosum*, disgraceful, absolutely. The great majority of the MSS. add *in eos*, which all the editors but Bip. and Kritz retain, referring them to the following *equites*, of which construction an instance occurs in Nep. Att. xii. 5, and in Justin, i. 3. 2. But they would make some confusion, as they might also refer to *quos*, etc.—3. *anxium*, i. e. when angry and annoyed: comp. xi. 8.—*cum suo*. He adds *cum* in his usual manner.—*pænas*, revenge.—*secunda*, flattering, assenting. *Neu dubites illi verba secunda loqui*, Ov. Art. Amat. i. 584.—*sine mora*. Because he would be the only surviving heir.—4. *ipse*, i. e. his personal influence.—5. *honestissima*, most pure and honourable; as there was no bribery, and they had the good of the state in view.—*nobilitate*, etc.: see xl.—*extollebat*, were promoting, i. e. were inclined to promote.

LXVI. 1. *Omissa*, laid aside, given up.—*incipit*, præes. after *postquam*: see Excursus I.—*adfectare*: see on lxiv. 4.—*suos*: see on liv. 8.—*amiserat*. This verb may be here taken in its original sense, sent away.—*servitia*, etc. His object must have been to annoy the Romans by leaving them without servants.—*pati*, sc. *esse*.—2. *quo*, sc. *oppido*, i. e. Vaga, included in *Vagenses*. Of this construction numerous instances are to be found: see Kritz.—*pacificante*, i. e. acting peacefully, seeking for peace: see xlvi. 5.—*fatigati*, harassed, i. e. overcome.—*alienati*, sc. *ab eo*.—*principes*, sc. *id est*.—*nam*, etc., i. e. for the aid of the populace might be counted on, as they were, etc.—*constituunt*, sc. *rem gerendam*.—*ostentabat*. As this was its usual character, it being annual. He therefore uses the indic.—3. *tempus*, sc. *festum*.—*sine imperio*, i. e. deprived of their officers.—4. *pars edocti*: see on xlvi. 7.

LXVII. 1. *Præsidium*, sc. *esse*.—*pro tectis*, from the edge or front of the roofs; like *pro rostris*, *pro tribunali*, etc. The roofs

were flat, of course.—*alia*, i. e. *tegulas*, *materiem*, *supellectilem*, etc. As in the barricades of Paris and other cities.—2. *anceps*. As they could not anticipate whence it would come, as if they had an enemy before them.—*infirmisumo*, i. e. *mulieribus et pueris*.—3. *nisi quia*, etc., i. e. all I will say is, etc.: see on xxiv. 5.—*inprobus intestabilisque*: see on Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 181. These are the very words of the XII Tables: see Gell. vi. 7; xv. 13.

LXVIII. 1. *paullisper*. This is to be taken with *abit*.—*e conspectu*, sc. *hominum*. He withdrew into his private apartments.—*sunt*. On account of the preceding *ubi*.—2. *pariter cum*, i. e. just at.—*expeditos*, i. e. without baggage.—*quamdam*, a certain.—*locis*, etc., i. e. low hills.—3. *amplius*, sc. *quam*.—4. *benigne*, generously.—*ostentat*, he shows, i. e. holds out the prospect of, as he intended to give the town up to pillage.—*in primo*, sc. *agmine*.—*late*, in loose order; that being the manner of the Numidians, or to conceal the infantry the better, as his object was to deceive the Vagesens. *Late* was the conjecture of Palmer, but it has since been found in three MSS.; the usual reading of the MSS. is *latere*.

LXIX. 1. *Ad se vorsum*, i. q. *advorsum se*, toward them, in their direction.—*uti*, etc., as was the fact.—2. *turris*, sc. *mœnium*.—3. *lætati*, sc. *sunt*.—*civitas*, i. e. *cives*: see on Cat. v. 8.—4. *jussus*, etc., i. e. being brought to a court-martial.—*verberatus*, etc., i. e. put to death.—*more majorum*: see on Cat. li. 22.—*civis ex Latio*, i. e. a Latin, not a Roman, which last only had the benefit of the Porcian law. The civic franchise was not conferred on the Latins till the time of the Social War, A. U. 662: see Hist. of Rome, p. 334. Plutarch (Mar. 8) says that Turpilius was an old family friend of Metellus, who made him his *præfectus fabrum*, and that it was through the malice and influence of Marius that he was, though perfectly innocent, condemned and executed.

LXX. 1. *Per*, i. e. about.—*suspiciens*, suspecting. This is the only instance of this sense of *suspicio*.—*dolum*, i. e. to lay a plot.—*fatigare animum*, sc. *hac re*.—*omnia temptando*, i. e. while trying all things, among others, he, etc.—2. *qui plerumque*, etc., i. e. who used to have a separate command.—*adstricto*: see on lx. 6.—*superaverant*, i. e. that he could not attend to himself.—*opes*, power.—*inventæ*, i. e. *paratæ*. The employment of the passive in this case is unusual; for the examples of this use of *invenio* given by the critics are all active: see Cic. Off. i. 13; iii. 31; Liv. xxx. 42; Tac. Ann. i. 74. Sallust may have had the Greek

ἐνρίσκω in his mind, which sometimes signifies *obtained*, in the middle voice. Τοὺς . . . δικάως τι παρ' ὑμῶν εὐρομένους Demosth. Lep. § 14.—3. *dics*, the time, not the exact day : see Cat. li. 25.—*ex tempore*, i. e. at the moment.—4. *inter*. For the Romans had several garrisons in Numidia : see lxi. 1.—*inultis hostibus*, abl. abs.—5. *metus*, sc. *ejus*.—*timore soci*, i. e. the fear which possessed his associate.—*anrius*, full of apprehension.—*ne*, etc., i. e. lest he should inform Jugurtha of the plot.—*ne*, i. e. *ut non*.—*pestem*, sc. *suam*.—*sua*, i. e. *Nabdalsæ*.

LXXI. 1. *exercito corpore*, i. e. after having taken exercise.—*lecto*, sofa.—2. *cognitis*, i. e. read and pondered over.—*ægrum*, i. e. anxious, perturbed : see on Virg. Buc. i. 13.—3. *negotiorum curator*, i. e. intendant and secretary.—*novissumi*, this very last.—4. *opera*. As they might contain directions for something to be done.—*ingenio*, i. e. his counsel and advice.—*super caput*, i. e. at his head, on the bolster. Στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, Il. ii. 20.—*temere*, carelessly : comp. liv. 6.—5. *neque*, i. e. *et non* : comp. xiv. 7.—*cognovit*, discovered.—*persequi*, sc. *et capere* : see on xx. 6.—*super*, i. e. *de*, περί. *Velim cogites quid agendum nobis sit super legatione votiva*, Cic. ad Att. xiv. 22.

LXXII. 1. *gerebat*, sc. *rem*.—*Bomilcare*, etc. From the use of the pluperf. here, it would seem, what is not very likely, that the matter had been inquired into, and the guilty parties executed before Nabdalsa arrived. But perhaps it is only the poetic onallage of tenses.—*obpresserat*, intensive of *presserat*. *Dolorem opprimi dico patientia*, Cic. Tusc. ii. 14. *Audacia comprehensa et oppressa tenetur*, Id. Flac. 16.—2. *post id locorum* : see on lxiii. 6.—*satis credere*, i. e. put full confidence in.—*cives*, i. e. his own subjects.—*contra*, etc. As it was so mean.—*tumultum*, a noise, disturbance.

LXXIII. 1. *Igitur*. This means in consequence of the discovery of the plot.—*casu*, i. e. *morte* : see on Cat. xxxv. 4.—*patefacto*. He uses this instead of the simple *facto*, to give force, and to show how complete the discovery had been, so as to leave Metellus no hopes of being able to accomplish any thing further in that way.—*ad integrum bellum*, for an entire war, i. e. all had to be done over again, the war was as complete as ever.—2. *fatigantem*, wearying, teasing, tormenting.—*invisum*, disliked. This, which is the reading of several MSS., is given by Kritz ; the usual reading is *invitum*, which, as he shows, could not be used thus absolutely.—*offensum*. This may apply either to Metellus or to Marius. If to the former, it is, odious, as : *si me meis*

civibus offensum viderim, Cic. Cat. i. 7; if to the latter, hostile, as: *si cujus animus in te est offensior*, Id. ad Att. i. 4. *Pontificibus offensior*, quod alium quam se in patris sui locum cooptassent, Suet. Ner. 2.—*sibi*, i. e. for executing his measures, sitting with him in council, etc. It is to be taken with *idoneum*; but it seems to qualify the preceding words also.—3. *litteris*, etc.: see lxxv. 4.—*cognitis*: see on lxxi. 2.—*volenti animo*, i. e. *cupide, lubenter*.—4. *decori*, sc. *fuerat*.—*in utroque*, i. e. in either case, with respect to either.—*studia partium*, party-spirit.—*sua*, his own.—*moderata* (sc. *sunt mentem plebis*), governed, directed. Kritz reads *moderabant* (though this active only occurs in the old dramatists), and renders it *intenti erant*, and understands *sua* of the *plebes*.—5. *magistratus*, i. e. *tribuni plebis*.—*capitis arcessere*, i. e. speak of him, as if he was deserv- ing of capital punishment for his conduct of the war: see on xxxii. 1.—*in majus*, etc., i. e. exaggerate. Ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον κοσμοῦντες, Thuc. i. 21.—6. *opifices*, sc. *urbis*.—*res*, property.—*fides*, credit. These two words are frequently thus joined, just as we ourselves say, he has neither money nor credit. *Extemplo et ipsus perit, et res et fides*, Plaut. Truc. i. 1, 24. *Ubi fidemque remque seque teque properat perdere*, Id. Epid. ii. 2, 36.—*in manibus*: comp. Cat. xlviii. 2. The meaning is, that they depended for their living on their daily labour.—*frequentarent*, i. e. attended and went about with him.—*honorem*, i. e. his obtaining the consulate.—7. *post multas tempestates*, i. e. for many years. Cicero (Verr. ii. 5, 70) mentions after Cato the censor, Q. Pompeius as a man who *humili atque obscuro loco natus . . . amplissimos honores* (i. e. consulatum) *adeptus est*. This was probably the consul of the year 612 (see Hist. of Rome, p. 282), and as he then adds *modo C. Fimbriam* (649), *C. Marium*, *C. Cælium* (659) *vidimus*, we may suppose that it is of the time between the consulates of Pompeius and of Marius that Sallust speaks.—*vellet, jussit*. These are the proper constitutional terms: see on Cat. xxix. 3. There was here a violation of the Sempronian law; for the senate had a right to designate the consular and proconsular provinces: see on Cat. xxvi. 4.—*Sed, ðe*, now.

LXXIV. 1. *necaverat*, executed: comp. xxvi. 3.—*regem Bocchum*: see on xix. 7.—*satis placebat*: comp. lxxii. 2.—*præfectos*, sc. *oppidorum*.—*in dies*, i. e. every day.—*virtuti*, the courage.—*fide*, i. e. *fidei*: comp. xvi. 3.—*intenderat*, sc. *animum*, i. e. he had proposed to effect.—2. *pro tempore*, i. e. as well as he could

in the time.—3. *tuta sunt*. It agrees with the adjacent subst. by attraction: comp. l. 6; Cat. xxv. 3.

LXXV. 1. *impensius modo*, i. e. now far more than ever.—*Thalam*: see Excursus VI. 6.—*multus*, abundant, extensive.—*pueritiæ cultus*, i. e. all the things required for their maintenance and education, as palace, furniture, dress, masters, attendants, etc.—2. *vasta*, waste, desert.—*patrandi bellum*, of putting an end to the war: comp. xxi. 2.—*asperitates*, difficulties, natural impediments: comp. xxix. 1.—*naturam*, sc. *ipsam*.—3. *levari*, to be lightened of, relieved from. We do not see any need for supposing a zeugma with *frumento*, for the corn was a regular part of the lading. A Roman army in Numidia was just like one of our own in India, its commissariat was carried on the backs of beasts of burthen.—*utres*, skin-bags, such as are used in Spain at the present day for holding wine, etc.—*alia*, i. e. casks, etc.—4. *domiti pecoris*, i. e. horses and oxen, etc.—*vasa*, etc., i. e. *alia*, etc., § 3.—5. *finitumis*. This seems to mean the people of that part of the country where he was. It is a very unusual sense of the word, which is always used of states and communities which are neighbours, but independent. *Arpinates finitimi Atinatus*, Cic. Planc. 9. *Regnum Ariobarzani quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus*, Id. Leg. Man. 2.—*quam*, sc. *ut*.—*locum*. This, as appears from § 7, was somewhere between the river and Thala.—*forent*, sc. *finitumi*. We follow Kritz in adopting this reading, which is that of several of the early editions, and of Gruter and Wasse. It is also that of one or two MSS. The vast majority read *fuerit*, which is the reading given by Gerlach. Corte follows those which read *fuerint*, but with his usual temerity he would strike out *ubi præsto fuerint præ*. Kritz maintains that both of these readings are repugnant to grammar. If *fuerit* is the true reading, its subject must be *aqua* or *Metellus*.—*prædicat*, i. e. tells beforehand, not i. q. *jubet*, as Kritz says, for in that sense it could not be joined with *diem locum*.—6. *quam*: see on Cat. vii. 6.—*ad*, etc., i. e. sets out for Thala: comp. xxxii. 5. 7. *præceperat*, sc. *ubi portarent aquam*.—*ut ea modo*, i. e. *ut ea sola*.—8. *commeatus*, i. e. *aqua*.—*spe*, expectation.—*nova*, new, i. e. later, what has only just occurred.—*officia intenderant*, had stretched their duty, i. e. had exceeded it.—9. *religione*, i. e. out of a feeling of religion. The word is taken in a good sense here.—*animis*, courage.—*opinionem*, belief, expectation.—10. *locorum*, i. e. of the surrounding country.—*perculsi*, sc. *sunt*.—*nihilo segnius*, sc. *tamen*.—*bellum*, i. e. *defensionem*.

LXXVI. 1. *Infectum*, i. e. *quod fieri non posset*: see on ii. 3.—*moratus*, i. q. *morans*. Allen places a colon after this word as if it was *moratus*, sc. *est*, and possibly this is the true sense.—*capi*, sc. *solent* or *sciebat*.—2. *prælio*, i. e. *pugnæ*: comp. lxxv. 10.—*circumvenit*: comp. lvii. 2. *Mænia exercitu circumvenit*, Cæs. Bell. Gall. iii. 97.—3. *ex copia*, i. e. that he could find: see on liv. 9.—*inpositis turribus*. Abl. instrum.—*administros*, the workmen.—5. *ante*, i. e. previous.—*præliis*, i. e. *pugnis*, in making assaults or repelling sallies.—*modo*, alone: see on lxxv. 7.—*præda*, sc. *nam*.—6. *Iti*, etc. Once the battering-rams had struck the walls of a town nothing was admitted of but unconditional surrender: see Cæs. Bell. Gall. ii. 32. *Iti qui, armis positis, ad imperatorum fidem confugient, quamvis murum aries percusserit, recipiendi sunt*, Cic. Off. i. 11.—*adfectas*, desperate: lit. dashed to the earth.—*quæ prima ducuntur*: comp. Cat. xxxvi. 5.

LXXVII. 1. *Pariter*, etc., i. e. just at the very time: see on lxxviii. 2.—*Lepti*: see Excurs. VI. 8.—*Hamilcærem*, sc. *nam*.—*novis rebus*, i. e. *defectioni*.—*festinaret*, sc. *facere*.—*suam*, i. e. *Leptitanorum*.—*illorum*, i. e. *Romanorum*.—3. *nave*, i. e. *gnave*. This is the reading of the best MSS.

LXXVIII. 1. *Ex re*, from their nature (from *σύρω*, to draw).—2. *in extrema*, i. e. in the most easterly part, toward Egypt.—*præalta*, extremely deep.—*uti fors*, etc., i. e. sometimes deep, sometimes shallow, the sands being of a shifting nature.—*temperata*, state of the weather.—3. *magnum esse*, i. e. *intumescere*. *Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis*. Lucr. ii. 1.—*Syrtes*, sc. *igitur*.—4. *modo*, only.—*cultus*, mode of life.—*procul*, etc., Kritz explains this “*regibus numquam subjecti*.” It would rather seem that Leptis had been placed under the dominion of Masinissa by the Romans, see Polyb. xxxii. 2, Liv. xxxiv. 62 (else why did its people sue for peace and alliance at the breaking out of the war?), and that these words mean, at a distance from the seat of government.—5. *Inter illos*, sc. *nam*.—*frequentem*, i. e. the inhabited part.

LXXIX. 1. *Indignum*, sc. *proposito nostro*.—*facinus*: see on Cat. ii. 9.—*eam rem*, sc. *nam*.—*admonuit*, brought to mind.—2. *pleraque*, i. e. the greater part of.—3. *in medio*, sc. *eorum*: see on xli. 5.—*una specie*, i. e. without any variety of surface, a dead level.—4. *legiones*, armies, land-forces: see on Cat. liii. 3.—*alii*, i. e. some of the native tribes. But here, as elsewhere, Sallust seems to be using established modes of expression rather than relating the exact truth.—*legati*, sc. *ab utraque parte*.—6. *tem-*

pestas : see on lxxviii. 2.—*retinere*, sc. *viatores*.—*gignentium*, sc. *semina*, *fructus*, τῶν φυτῶν, i. e. vegetation : comp. xciii. 4. This use of the word is almost peculiar to Sallust.—7. *conruptam*, i. e. mismanaged.—*digressos*, i. e. *quasi forent digressi*.—*malle*, sc. *pati* or *facere*.—8. *aliam*, any other.—*quos fines*, etc. It would be more simple, *ad fines quos*, etc., omitting *ibi*.—9. *condonavere*. Intensive of *dono*.—10. *aras*. By this word is meant here not altars but memorials erected of stone in the form of altars. *Erigi duodecem aras ex quadrato saxo monumentum expeditionis suæ jussit* (Alexander), Curt. ix. 3.—*honores*. What these were we do not know, and perhaps the historian himself was ignorant. Corte seems to have regarded the whole story as a fable, and such, we must confess, it is in our own opinion. In the first place the names of these heroes, whose language was Punic, are pure Greek, and what is of importance in cases of this kind, are significant (Φιλαίνοι, i. e. *praise* or *fame-loving*) ; then these long and fierce wars between the Carthaginians and the Cyrenæans about their boundaries in a sandy desert are not very probable ; further, the Carthaginians held little or no dominion eastwards, and the Sidonian colonies, even Utica, were mostly independent ; finally, it might be asked, how did the Cyrenæans know that they had not gone far enough ? To this it might be replied that they were conscious of their own negligence ; but then they might have kept their own secret.

LXXX. 1. *Gætulos* : see xix. 5.—2. *multitudinem*, a number.—*in unum* : see on Cat. xvii. 2.—*ordines habere*, i. e. to keep their ranks.—*alia*, sc. *officia*.—3. *proximos*, i. e. *amicos* : see on Cat. xiv. 3.—*ad studium sui*, into his interests.—*impellit*, urges.—5. *incepto bello*, a dat. All the best MSS. read *belli*.—*pauci*, οἱ ὀλίγοι, the faction.—*cæci*, i. e. *cæcati*.—*quis*, etc. : comp. xxxi. 12 ; Cat. xxx. 4.—6. *Jugurthæ*, a dat.—*Bocchi*. The better MSS. read *Boccho* ; but Plutarch (Mar. 10 ; Sull. 3) and Florus (iii. 1) assert that Jugurtha was the son-in-law of Bocchus.—*eo*, sc. *quia opulentiores*.—7. *obtinet*, sc. *haberi*. Kritz, as usual, asserts that the verb is absolute ; but the only proof which he gives, *subter mediam fere regionem sol obtinet* (Cic. Somn. Scip. 4), is of a different character from the present place as the verb has an object. *Nulla* is the reading of only four MSS., all the rest read *nullam*, in which case *animus* is the nom. to *obtinet*, which gives an absurd sense.

LXXXI. 1. *Fide*, etc. This phrase is said to owe its origin to the custom *dextrarum jungendarum*.—*profunda*, bottomless, in-

satiabile.—*regna*, i. e. independent governments.—*opulentissimus*: see on Cat. vi. 3.—2. *constituunt*: see lxvi. 2.—3. *operæ pretium*, i. e. their toil would be remunerated: comp. Cat. xii. 3.—*Romanus*, sc. *dux*, i. e. *Metellus*, just as *Numida* is so frequently i. q. *Jugurtha*.—*prælio*, etc., i. e. there would be a battle. It is an unusual construction.—4. *modo*, only. His only or principal object.—*Bocchi*, etc., i. e. to engage Bocchus in actual hostilities.—*moras agitando*, i. e. *morando*, *dum moraretur*.

LXXXII. 1. *Cognitis Mauris*, i. e. when he should have known the Moors and their mode of fighting.—*ex commodo*, i. e. when it suited him, when he thought it for his advantage.—2. *bonum*, etc., τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, τὴν καλοκάγαθίαν, i. e. what was becoming in a man of his rank and character.—*aliis artibus*, i. e. other respects.—*ægritudinem*, sc. *mentis*.—3. *bonum ingenium*, i. e. a noble mind.

LXXXIII. 1. *Stultitiæ*, of or belonging to (i. e. an act of) folly: comp. xiv. 7. This construction is very common. It was also used by the Greeks.—*alienam*, another's.—*tum*, i. e. now, at the present time, before any acts of hostility had taken place.—*facile*. This may agree with *bellum*.—*deponi*, sc. *bellum*.—2. *satis placide*, i. e. with much calmness and courtesy.—3. *contra*, i. e. in reply to.—*ille*, i. e. Bocchus.—*ex Metelli voluntate*, i. e. just as Metellus wished.—*intactum*, i. e. without anything being done.

LXXXIV. 1. *Multus*, i. e. *immodicus*, *assiduus*: comp. xcvi. 3. *Heu hercle hominem multum et odiosum mihi*, Plaut. Men. ii. 2, 41.—*dolentia*, i. e. *quæ illis dolerent*, grievous. This sense is frequent in Plautus.—2. *subplementum*, i. e. recruits.—*auxilia*, etc.: see xliii. 4.—*militiæ fama*. Of this practice of Sallust's of joining different cases with the same verb, we have already had instances: see Excurs. I. 11.—*cognitos*, sc. *sibi*.—*cogere*, i. e. to force by dint of entreaty.—*homines*, etc., i. e. discharged veterans, men who had served their full period.—3. *volenti*: comp. c. 4. It is a Greek form. Τῷ πλήθει τῶν Πλαταιῶν οὐ βουλευμένῳ ἢ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρίστασθαι: Thuc. ii. 3.—*belli usum*, i. e. what was requisite for the war, troops.—4. *trahebant*, i. e. *agitabant*.

LXXXV. 1. *Modicos*, i. e. *modestos*.—*per ignaviam*, etc.: see on Cat. xx. 2.—2. *Sed mihi*, etc., sc. *faciundum*, i. e. But I am of a totally different way of thinking.—3. *beneficio*, i. e. the consulate.—*nolis*. Indef.—*et ea agere, καὶ ταῦτα ποιῆν*.—*opinionem*, i. e. than one can well think or imagine.—5. *favere*, sc. *mihi*.—*procedunt*, sc. *bene*, i. e. *prospere eveniunt*, benefit, are an advantage to.—*locum*, i. e. *occasionem*.—*invadendi*, sc. *me*. We need not with

Kritz add also *vos*.—6. *capiamini* (i. e. *circumveniamini*), sc. *ab iis*.—*frustra sint*: see on vii. 6.—8. *beneficia*: see on § 3.—9. *potestatibus*, i. e. *honoribus*, *magistratibus*.—*temperare*, sc. *sibi*: comp. Cat. xi. 8.—10. *globo*, band. He uses the word in an invidious sense, as it usually denoted ill design. *Hi una cum conjurationis globo Capitolium occupavere*, Vell. Pat. ii. 58.—*mittatis*, i. e. you should send.—*prosapia*. An old word, and therefore suited to Marius. *Et eorum, ut utamur veteri verbo, prosapiam*, Cic. de Univ. 11.—*nullius stipendi*, i. e. who have seen no service.—*scilicet*, forsooth. Ironical.—*ut in tanta*, etc. This expresses the consequence of, not their design in, sending him; a sense in which *ut* and *ne* (*ut non*) sometimes occur: comp. xiv. 11. This place finds an exact parallel in Hor. Ep. i. 15, 36, which (as it had eluded all the commentators) we attempted to explain on a different principle: see Cic. Verr. ii. 1, 45: Rosc. Amer. 24. So also our explanation of Ep. i. 1, 5, proves to be correct, *ne*, both there and in v. 8, denoting a consequence or effect, and not an object or design: comp. Cæs. Bell. Civ. iii. 37; Liv. v. 32, 33; Tac. Ann. iii. 38.—*ex populo*, i. e. plebeian.—11. *Ita*, sc. *nam*.—*imperatorem jussistis*. This is the reading of five MSS., all the rest and the editions (except those of Kritz and Orelli) read *imperare*. *Cum populus regem jussisset*, Liv. i. 22. *Id modo exceperere, ne postea eosdem tribunos juberent*, Id. iii. 30: comp. lxxxiv. 1.—12. *scio*, sc. *esse aliquos*.—*qui postquam*, etc. It is not easy to say whom Marius had in view here. It could not well have been Scipio Africanus or Lælius; Gerlach thinks Lucullus (see Cic. Acad. ii. 1), but he was long posterior to Marius. Sallust, however, in making the speech may have had him in view, and so have committed this anachronism: see on Cat. xx. 11.—*præposter*, i. e. who do last what should be done first, who, as the common saying is, put the cart before the horse.—*nam gerere*, etc. The meaning of this is, that though a man cannot discharge the duties of the consulate or any other office till he has been appointed to it, yet he ought previously to have acquired the requisite knowledge and capacity. *Magistratus* is therefore understood with *gerere* as the office, with *feri* as the officer; and with *re*, etc. *idoneum esse gerere* is understood.—13. *cum illorum superbia*, i. e. *cum illis superbis*: see Cat. li. 14.—14. *fortuna* (sc. *ab iis*), my low estate.—*objectantur*, sc. *a me*.—15. *Quamquam*, etc. Though in fact, etc., and therefore there is no use in disputing about it.—*generosissimum*, i. e. *nobilissimum*.—16. *posset*. They were probably dead.—18. *honori meo*, i. e. *consulatu*.—*cepi*, i. q. *accepi*.

—20. *næ*, assuredly.—*falsi sunt*, præt. of *fallor*.—23. *lumen*, a lamp, etc.—*in occulto*, sc. *esse*, i. e. *occuli*.—24. *Hujusce rei*, i. e. *gloriæ majorum*.—*inopiam fateor*, i. e. want.—26. *beneficio*: see on § 3.—*placuit*, sc. *mihi*.—*conscientiam*, sc. *malam*: comp. Cat. xv. 4.—27. *ex animi*, etc., i. e. on my conscience. It was a usual formula.—28. *summum honorem*, sc. *dedistis*. By zeugma.—29. *fidei causa*, i. e. to gain credit with you.—*hastas*, etc. The usual military rewards.—31. *parum id facio*, i. e. I attend little to that, I give myself little trouble about it.—32. *virtutem*, mental energy, valour.—*nihil profuerunt*. He is probably referring to the feeble resistance which the Greeks offered to the Romans under Mummius: see Hist. of Greece, p. 470.—33. *optuma*, i. e. *utilissima*.—*juxta*: see on Cat. ii. 8.—34. *arte*, adv. There is a kind of zeugma here, for while *colo* answers to *opulenter*, the proper verb with *arte* is *habeo*.—*civile*, i. e. becoming a member of a free state.—35. *tute agas*. Indef.—*per mollietiem*, i. e. *molliter*: comp. Cat. xx. 9.—36. *celebravere*, i. e. *magnum et claram fecere*: comp. lxxxvi. 3.—37. *repetit*. This is the correct word in speaking of debts.—38. *procul*, sc. *a vera via*.—39. *Sordidum*, mean. What follows is well illustrated by this place of Livy (xxxix. 6): *Tunc* (sc. *Antiocho victo*) *psaltriæ, sambucistriæque et convivalia ludionum oblectamenta addita epulis. Epulæ quoque ipsæ et cura et sumptu majore apparari cœptæ; tum coquus, vilissimum antiquis mancipium et æstimatione et usu, in pretio esse.*—*pluris preti*, i. e. that cost more. It is to be taken with *cocum*. We need not say that all the Roman servants were slaves.—40. *sanctis*, reverend, upright, virtuous; the German *bieder*.—*munditias*, elegance, attention to dress and ornaments. Thus Horace (Carm. i. 5, 5) commends a lady as being *simplex munditiis*, i. e. simply elegant in her mode of dressing.—41. *habuere*; comp. Cat. li. 12.—43. *artes*, qualities.—45. *avaritiam*, etc. The first applies to *Bestia* (xxviii. 5), the second to *Albinus* (xxxvi. 2), the third to *Metellus* (lxiv. 1).—46. *temeritate*. He alludes not merely to the rashness of *Aulus* (xxviii. 7), but to the failure of *Metellus'* attempt on *Zama* (lvii.—lxi.) and the calamity at *Vaga* (lxvi).—47. *consultor*, sc. *saluti vestræ*.—*neque vosque*, etc. There is a zeugma here, for the proper verb with *vos* is *tracto* or *habeo*.—49. *neque quisquam*, etc. *Ὁὐ γὰρ ἀθανάτους σφίσι παῖδας εὐχονται γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοὺς καὶ εὐκλείς*, Plat. Menex. 20.—50. *Plura*, etc.: comp. Cat. lviii. 1.

LXXXVI. 2. *Ipsæ interea*, etc. Hitherto the Roman armies had been raised in a manner answering, in some measure, to the

French system of conscription ; but Marius now made his levies by the English mode of voluntary enlistment, which naturally gave a worse class of men, and those most likely to prefer their general to their country, as was shown in the succeeding civil wars. Sallust seems to make a mistake, when he speaks of levying out of the classes, for that mode had been long out of use : see Hist. of Rome, p. 173.—*capite censos*, i. e. the Proletarians, the very lowest sort, who paid no property-tax, Hist. of Rome, p. 54.—3. *celebratus* : see on lxxxvi. 36.—*auctus* : see on Ov. Fast. i. 612.

LXXXVII. 1. *expletis*, etc. Because Metellus must have taken a part of the troops home with him ; for he triumphed on his return (Hist. of Rome, p. 320), which supposes the presence of at least a part of the victorious army.—*agrum*, a part of the country.—*præda onustum*, full of booty, i. e. where there was plenty to plunder. *Se aulam onustam auri abstrusisse hic intus in fano*, Plaut. Aul. iv. 2, 10.—2. *videre*, etc. This passage serves rather to show the art of the writer than to exhibit the real state of things. Surely the Roman soldiers did not fly before the Numidians, and what country or parents had they in Africa to protect ?—*quæri*, i. e. *comparari* : comp. iii. 3.—4. *speranti*, ἐλπιζοντι, expecting.

LXXXVIII. 1. *profectus*, sc. *ubi advenit* : comp. lxxi. 5.—*spem*, ἐλπίδα, expectation.—2. *tutum*, secure, free from danger.—3. *ex sociis nostris*, from our subjects, i. e. out of the province. The people are frequently thus put for the country.—*regem*, sc. *Jugurtham*.—*armis exuerat*, had stripped of his arms, i. e. had forced him to throw away his arms and fly : comp. Liv. xxii. 21 ; Cæs. Bell. Gall. iii. 6.—4. *belli patrandi* : see on Cat. vi. 7.—*viris*, by men, i. e. by the strength of the garrison.—*loco*, by their natural site.—*pro hostibus*, in favour of the enemy. *Hoc non modo pro me, sed contra me est potius*, Cic. de Or. iii. 20. *Cuncta pro hostibus erant*, Tac. Hist. iv. 78. *Quod ego minime reor esse pro agricola*, Colum. iii. 5.—*opportunissimæ*. This word, which might seem to be superfluous, expresses the importance of these places in a military point of view.—*circumvenire*, to attack, lay siege to : comp. lvii. 2 ; lxxvi. 2. That it does not mean, as Kritz says, attempt to surprise, is plain from what follows.—5. *Nam Bocchus*, etc., i. e. For as to Bocchus he gave himself no concern about him, as he, etc.—*nuncios*, sc. *dicentes*.—*velle*, sc. *sc.*—*ne quid*, sc. *igitur*.—6. *accideret*, fall on. *Missa*

a Gallis tela gravius accidebant, Cæs. Bell. Gall. iii. 14.—*exploratum*, sc. *mihî*.

LXXXIX. 1. *avortere ab hostibus*, i. e. to gain over, to make himself master of.—2. *mediocria*, i. e. *res mediocres*.—*in manus venturum*, i. e. come to an engagement.—3. *majora*, etc. Opposed to the *mediocria* of § 2.—4. *inter*, in the midst of: comp. xcii. 5.—*valens*, sc. *viris et opibus*.—*Capsa*: see Excursus VI. 7.—*Hercules Libys*. This Hercules, i. e. the mythic personage identified with the Grecian hero, is unknown. He could not have been the Phœnician Melcarth.—*immunes*, sc. *ab omnione*: comp. Suet. Claud. 25.—*et ob ea*, etc. By placing a comma after *fidelissimi*, we escape the necessity of supposing a zeugma.—5. *vasta*, waste, desert.—*inculta*, uninhabited.—*infesta*, hostile, dangerous.—*serpentibus*, with (by reason of) serpents. *Gallia quam sibi armis animisque infestam inimicamque cognovit*, Cic. Phil. x. 10.—*natura*, i. e. the natural ferocity.—6. *nisi quod*, etc. The attempt of Metellus was therefore rational and feasible, while that of Marius was a piece of temerity which nothing but success could justify.—*atque ea*. *Ea* is abl.: see Zumpt, § 699.—*jugi*, lasting, that does not go dry: comp. Hor. Sat. ii. 6, 2; Ep. i. 15, 15. We think it better to suppose this adj. to be connected with *Jungo*, *jugum*, than, with Döderlein and Kritz, to derive it from *diu*, by rejecting *d* and adding *gis*.—*aqua*, i. e. *fonte*.—*pluvia*, sc. *aqua*.—7. *ibique*, both there.—*omni Africa*, all that part of Africa. He here puts the country for the inhabitants, and therefore rather harshly uses the verb *agebat*.—*alia*, i. e. pepper, etc.—8. *cibus*, etc. A satire on the luxury of the Romans.

XC. 1. *credo*, I suppose. There is no irony, but the historian is aware of the fool-hardiness of the attempt.—*dis fretus*: see lxiii. 1.—*arvo*, tillage-land, i. e. tillage. *Non arvus hic sed pascuus est ager*, Plaut. Truc. i. 2, 47.—*tamen*. Notwithstanding these difficulties. This word, which gives the place the appearance of an anacoluthon, is introduced on account of the preceding parenthesis.—*exornat*, sc. *omnia*. Kritz says that the verb is absolute.—2. *Laris*, acc. pl.

XCI. 1. *per centurias*, sc. *peditum*.—*turmas*, i. e. *per turmas*, sc. *equitum*.—*æqualiter*. For the century and the *turma* contained each the same number of men, i. e. thirty: see Hist. of Rome, p. 173. Kritz, whose knowledge is almost wholly grammatical, follows Corte in making the century contain one hundred

men, and he explains *æqualiter* by “*justa ratione utriusque numeri habita*.”—*distribuerat*. The employment of the pluperf. here is most extraordinary, and we can only explain it, with Corte, on the supposition of an enallage : see Excursus I. 4. Surely few will acquiesce in the following explanation by Kritz, “*Sed propria constat plusquamperfecti vis ; nam distributio, cotidie instituta, cogitatur ante facta quam et cetera negotia, et utrium confectio peragerentur*.”—*et inopiam*, etc., i. e. to save the corn.—*ignaris*, without the knowledge. For he did not say what the *utres* were for.—*sexto die*, etc., on the sixth day, when they reached the river. Kritz seems to understand it, on the sixth day after they had reached the river.—2. *castris*, etc. This was done rather in accordance with the rules of war than from any apprehension of an enemy.—*omnibus*, etc. : comp. lxxv. 3. There was of course a guard left with the baggage, and the soldiers took with them a sufficient quantity of food.—3. *consedit*, halts for the day. He marched by night for the sake of the coolness, and halted during the day, as, the country being uninhabited, there was no great chance of the people of Capsa hearing any thing about his movements.—*proxuma*, sc. *nocte*.—*duum millium*, sc. *passuum*.—4. *egressi*, sc. *sunt*.—*his*. Because *equitatus* is i. q. *equites*.—*intentus* : see on xlv. 5.—6. *Ceterum*, adv.—*venundati*. This must mean that he brought them away and sold them afterwards.—7. *Id facinus*, etc. *Facinus* is here simply, act, deed. It does not appear that Metellus acted thus at Thala, though no surrender was made there.—*aditu*, i. e. *aditui*.—*ante*. The Romans surely could not have had any previous experience of the Capsenses ; but by *genus hominum* he probably means the Numidians in general.—*coërcitum*, i. e. *quod coërceri posset* : see on ii. 3.

XCII. 2. *consulta*. Kritz, following a few MSS., inserts here *modo, verum etiam casu data*.—*in virtutem trahebantur*, i. e. were regarded as proofs of mental power and energy : comp. lxxxv. 26.—*modesto*, moderate, gentle.—*socii*, i. e. the people of the province.—*nutu*, i. e. *numine*.—4. *Denique*, etc. This is the first advance made by the Romans into western Numidia, the original dominions of Jugurtha (xvi. 5) ; their operations hitherto had been almost exclusively confined to the parts around the province.—*asperitate*. Because that required a three days' march through the desert.—*Capsensium*, sc. *res*.—*secus*, i. e. *minus*.—5. *Mulucha* : see on xix. 7.—*inter ceteram*, etc. (comp. lxxxix. 4), i. e. while all the country round was plain and level,

it rose to a great height. It was like the hill-forts in India.—*satis patens*, i. e. its summit was of sufficient extent.—*natura*, abl.—*opere*, etc., sc. *hominum*.—*præceps*, sc. *factus est*.—6. *thesauri*, i. e. a part of the treasure.—*summa vi*. These words are to be taken with *intendit*, sc. *animum*.—7. *satis*, i. e. abundance of.—*inportunus*, adverse, inconvenient.—*iter*, i. e. *aditus*, § 5.—*utrimque præcisum*, scarped (i. e. made steep) on each side.—9. *pro opere*, i. e. out before the *vineæ* and the machines.—*inter*, i. e. *intra*.—*administrare* : see on lxxvi. 3.

XCIII. 1. *trahere*, etc. : see on lxxxiv. 4.—2. *æstuans*. This word properly applies to the sea, whose tide rolls to and from the shore, dashing against rocks and cliffs, and tearing up seaweed and sand.—*auxiliaribus*. For the Ligurians were not reckoned among the Italians, and therefore were not among the *Socii* in the Roman army : see Hist. of Rome, p. 168.—*avorsum*, i. e. away from, behind. Most MSS. read *advorsum*, which is most certainly wrong.—*repentis*, sc. *ad*. He cannot mean that the soldier *saw* the snails moving, he only expresses their habit.—*ad summum montis* : see on xxxvii. 4.—*egressus* : see on lx. 6.—3. *intellexit*, perceived. He probably inferred this from hearing no sounds, for he was not high enough yet to see it.—*more*, etc. This is the true reading restored by Gerlach, and adopted by Kritz and Orelli. *Cupido ignara visundi invadit*, a reading manufactured by Corte, is that of the ordinary editions.—*cupido*, etc., i. e. the natural desire of achieving difficulties changed (i. e. made him change) his mind, i. e. he gave over picking up the snails, and resolved to ascertain if the fort was accessible.—4. *ilex*, evergreen-oak : see our Flora Virg. s. v.—*paullum modo*, i. e. for only a short way.—*prona*, i. e. horizontal, growing out from.—*flexa*, etc., i. e. it then turned and grew up vertically in the usual manner of plants. Trees of this kind may often be seen in ruins and on the sides of steep declivities.—*gignentium* : see lxxix. 6.—*eminentibus*, protruding, jutting out.—*pervenit*. This reading is given by Kritz from a few MSS., the great majority reading *perscribit*, a few *perscripsit*. Orelli conjectures *perrepsit*. Sallust, we may observe, has been narrating the ascent of the Ligurian, and how could he describe or note the summit which he had not yet reached?—*quod*, etc. There was therefore no one to notice or oppose him.—*præliantibus* (dat.), sc. *Romanis*.—6. *pollicetur*, offers.—7. *promissa ejus*, i. e. the feasibility of what he proposed.—*præsentibus*, those about him, i. e. some of his officers.—*tamen*, i. e. notwithstanding the un-

favourable reports of some.—8. *ex copia*, i. e. out of all that were in his army.—*quattuor centuriones*, sc. *cum centuriis suis* ? i. e. 120 men : see on xci. 1 ; or perhaps with merely some select men out of their companies. Surely four men could not be a sufficient protection against the people of the fort. And why send officers alone ? It would appear from the following narrative, and from the use of the word *militēs* in xciv. 2, that there were more than nine men with the Ligurian : see also the various reading about to be noticed.

XCIV. 1. *ex præcepto*, sc. *Marii* : see xciii. 8.—*pergit*, sc. *Ligus*, according to Kritz. But may not Marius himself have gone to the foot of the rock ?—*qui adscensuri erant*. This is the reading of only seven MSS., most of the rest, and the editions anterior to that of Kritz, read *qui centuriis præerant*, which is either a strange periphrasis for *centuriones*, or, if restricted to them alone, gives a strange sense, for why should the officers alone change their dress and arms ? It probably arose from the historian's not having mentioned the men, who must have been there.—*ornatum*, dress.—*offensa*, struck.—2. *radices*, sc. *ilicis*.—*vetustate*, through, on account of, age, the usual cause.—*timidos*, i. e. *timentes*, those who were afraid.—*nisu*, i. e. *nisi*.—*potissimus*, first of all.—*digrediens*, stepping aside.—3. *diu*, sc. *laborantes*, by zeugma.—*habuerat*, i. e. he had kept.—*extra*, out of, from under, or rather out before.—*testudine acta*, forming the *testudo* or tortoise, by the soldiers placing their shields over their heads, and joining them together : see Liv. xxxiv. 39 ; xlv. 9.—*succedere*, to advance. This was the verb in use, as the *testudo* was formed for the purpose of approaching, going under, the walls of towns.—4. *pro muro*, out before the wall.—5. *signa canere* : see on Cat. lix. 1.—*qui visum*, etc., i. e. who had come out of the fort to see the combat the better.—*fugere*, sc. *in castellum*.—*quisque*, sc. *militum*.—*inermes*. These must have been the women and boys.—6. *dein super*, etc. Because the nearer they came to the fort the more crowded were the fugitives, and therefore the more of them were slain.—7. *forte*, i. e. *fortuna* : comp. xcii. 6.—*invenit*, found, obtained : see on lxx. 2. The historian justly condemns the conduct of Marius on this occasion, and perhaps in the military annals of the world two such pieces of what we may term needless temerity will not be found, as those just recorded. At Capsa, if the townspeople had by any means discovered the vicinity of the Romans, and shut their gates, they must have retired at once, and probably have suffered dreadfully from thirst

before they reached the Tana. In the latter case Marius must have marched his army at least five hundred miles, for that is about the distance from Cirta to the Mulucha, merely in the hope of being able to capture some treasure, and, but for a lucky chance, he would have failed most signally.

XCV. 1. *dum*, etc. It would appear from this that Sulla joined Marius during the siege of the fort.—*quos*, sc. *equites*: comp. xci. 4.—*socius*, i. e. *Italicis*: see on xliii. 4.—2. *res*, our subject.—*admonuit*, has reminded, i. e. has brought before us.—*idoneum*, i. e. *non alienum*.—*natura cultuque*, i. e. his natural and acquired qualities.—*neque enim*, etc. Because his history, which it would appear from this place he had already planned, was to commence at A. U. 674, the year of Sulla's death.—*L. Sisenna*, sc. *Cornelius*. He was the contemporary of Marius and Sulla, and wrote a history in twelve books, containing the events of the social and civil wars down to the dictatorship of Sulla. Sallust appears to have thought well of him, and to have intended his own history to be a continuation of his work. Cicero, however, while allowing him to have been superior to all the other Roman annalists, adds (Legg. i. 2) *Is tamen in historia puerile quiddam consecratur*.—*persecutus*, i. e. *qui persecutus est*, sc. *eas*.—*parum*, etc. Either because he published his history in the lifetime of Sulla, or rather because the oligarchic party, to whom Sulla had given the supremacy in the state, would not allow any thing to be said derogatory to his memory. Sallust, we must remember, was of the opposite party, and therefore inclined to Marius.—3. *Igitur*, γάρ, then.—*gentis*, etc., of a noble patrician *gens*, namely, the Cornelian. He says *noble* because so many of that *gens* had borne curule offices, and therefore had images.—*família* (abl.), etc., i. e. of a family (i. e. the Sulla), sunk into obscurity, etc. For the difference between the *gens* and the family, see Hist. of Rome, pp. 44, 45.—*ignavia*, want of energy.—*doctissime*, i. e. profoundly, well-grounded.—*otio luxurioso* (abl. instrum. like *animo ingenti*), i. e. devoting his leisure-time to luxurious indulgences.—*remorata*, sc. *est eum*.—*nisi quod*, etc., i. e. he might, however, have acted better toward his wife than he did. This is said by the bye, and is a corrective of the preceding assertion, as in this case pleasure did *not* give way to duty. *Nisi quod* is i. q. *si non erat quod*: comp. Tac. Ann. i. 33, 3; vi. 24, 2; xvi. 14, 4.—*de*, i. e. *circa*, *quoad*: comp. Cat. li. 19.—*uxore*. As Sulla was several times married, it is impossible to say what particular wife is meant, and as he was notoriously

faithless to them all, it seems better with those whom Kritz follows to understand by *uxore, re uxoria*, marriage in general.—*consuli*, sc. *ab eo*.—*facilis*, i. e. *comis, benignus*.—*simulanda*, i. e. *dissimulanda*, concealing : see Cat. v. 4.—*altitudo*, *βαθύτης*, depth.—*multarum*, etc. He may be alluding to his conduct when dictator.—4. *felicissimo*. Alluding, perhaps, to the title of *Felix*, which he assumed after his victory at the Colline gate : Hist. of Rome, p. 350. Cicero (*ap. Amm. Marc. xxi. 16*) thus defines *felicitas*. *Neque enim quidquam aliud est felicitas nisi honestarum rerum prosperitas. Vel ut alio modo definiam, felicitas est consiliorum fortuna adiutrix bonorum ; quibus qui non utitur felix esse nullo pacto potest.*—*industriam* : comp. lxxvi. 1.—*nam*, i. e. I only speak of him as he was up to that time, for, etc. : comp. lxiii. 6.—*pudeat*, etc., i. e. have more shame or sorrow for the condition of the Roman people who permitted or aided in such atrocities.

XCVI. 1. *In paucis tempestatibus*, i. e. in a short space of time, within a few weeks, for example : comp. Cat. xx. 3.—2. *adpellare*, address : see on Cat. xvii. 1.—*per se*, of his own accord.—*accipere*, sc. *beneficia*.—*quam æs mutuatum*, i. e. than if it had been borrowed money.—*joca*, etc., i. e. both to jest and talk seriously even with the common men.—*operibus*, i. e. when they were engaged in forming the camp, etc.—*multus*, frequently. *Theophrastus multus est in laudanda magnificentia*, Cic. Off. ii. 16.—*prava ambitio*, i. e. *pravi ambitiosi*. For the opposite conduct of Marius see lxiv. 5.

XCVII. 1. *Magnam pecuniam* : see xcii. 6.—2. *dubium*, i. e. *dubitantem*.—*rationes trahere*, i. e. weigh the advantages of each.—*uti antea* : see lxxx. 3.—*integris*, etc., i. e. without any diminution of his territory.—3. *vix decuma*, etc. Probably not much more than an hour, as it was now of course toward the end of the year.—*nullo impedimento*, a dat. like *munimento*.—4. *simul*, at the very same time.—*multis*. These were the scouts (*speculatores*) who came in from various quarters.—*signum*, sc. *tuba datum*, or the *tessera* which used to be issued before an engagement. *It bello tessera signum*, Virg. Æn. vii. 637.—*acie*, line of battle.—*more*, regular, usual mode.—5. *latrocinio*, the irregular attacks of brigands and bandits.—*cædere*, to cut, i. e. to wound.—*obtruncare*, to cut down, to slay.—*ab tergo*, etc., i. e. to get behind and fall on.—*numero plures*. This may be, more in number : comp. Hor. Ep. ii. 1, 183 ; or simply, very numerous. *Equites numero plurimi e Gallia*, Cæs. Bell. Gall. i. 5 : see on Hor. Sat. i. 4, 24.

—*veteres*, the old soldiers : see lxxxvii. 2. Not i. q. *veterani*. We have followed Kritz and Orelli in omitting *novique* which follows in all the MSS., but which makes no sense, and has evidently been introduced from lxxxvii. 3. Ciaceoni and Ursini long ago saw that they should be omitted.—*ob ea*. This is an unusual expression. We might have expected *ob id*. Perhaps he understood *stipendia*, of which the idea is in *veteres* : see on Cat. li. 29.

XCVIII. 1. *Turma sua*, his body-guard.—*quam*, etc. This is a satire on other generals who acted on the usual system of favouritism.—*manu*, i. e. by acts of personal valour.—2. *atque*, sc. *etiam*.—3. *ex copia*, etc., i. e. as the state of things was, etc. : see on liv. 9.—*trahit*, draws out, i. e. forms.—*inter se*, to one another : comp. liii. 7 ; lv. 6 : Cat. v. 8.—*quærebat*, i. q. *requirebat*. *Quod cujusque oratoris eloquentiam quæreret*, Cic. Verr. II. i. 10. *Lites ex limitibus judicem quærant*, Varr. R. R. i. 15.—*usui*, i. e. for encamping on.—*munimenta*, works.—4. *neque minus*, etc. The reason why he was able to do so.—*pleno gradu*, at a quick pace : see Veget. i. 9 : comp. Liv. iv. 32, 10 ; Cic. Fam. xii. 16, 1.—*collem*, sc. *alterum*.—5. *effusi*, i. e. *sine ordine*.

XCIX. 1. *Canere*, sc. *sinit*. By zeugma.—*vigiles*. This is the conjecture of Corte, all the MSS. have *vectigales*, which gives no sense.—*cohortium*, sc. *auxiliarium*. *Additis igitur ad copias duobus legionibus, octo aliis, cohortibus decem*, Suet. Vesp. 4 ; Ernest. in loc. : comp. Tac. Hist. ii. 89 ; Flor. iii. 21, 18. Kritz asserts that they are the legionary cohorts, and adds, of which we believe there is no proof, that the legions had trumpeters beside those of its cohorts.—*portis erumpere*. This, we believe, only means to rush out. It is hardly possible that the Romans could have formed a regular camp on the hill during the night. In his usual manner he employs an established phrase.

C. 1. *Profisciscitur*, marches for.—*oppidis maritumis*, sc. *Numidiæ*, of which probably Cirta was counted as one : see xxi. 2. Hitherto the Roman army appears to have wintered in the province.—*quadrato agmine*, i. e. in a square, with the baggage in the centre : see Tac. Ann. i. 51.—2. *Sulla*, sc. *curabat*.—*curabat* (sc. *Manlius*), he had the command of. The verb *curo*, it will be observed, is used here, first absolutely, i. e. with the acc. understood, and then with the acc. expressed.—*primos et extremos*, i. e. in front and rear.—*tribunos*, sc. *legionum*.—3. *quasi*, etc., as if he had not appointed any one to attend to it : comp. Cat. li. 28.—4. *item*, sc. *esse* : see on Cat. xxvii. 2.—*atque*, than as.—*futurum quæ*. For this construction, which was common in the

old writers, see Gell. i. 7.—*volentibus* : see on lxxxiv. 3.—5. *malo*, i. e. *pæna*. *Malo coactus qui suum officium facit*, Ter. Ad. i. 1, 44.—*per ambitionem*, i. e. to curry favour with them.—*nisi tamen*, i. e. this I will only say, be that as it may : see on xcv. 3.—*res publica*, i. e. the public service, the interests of the state.

CI. 1. *Igitur*, i. e. to proceed then.—*speculatores*, sc. *præmissi a Mario*.—*citi*, i. e. *cito*, *citato cursu*.—*sese ostendunt* : comp. xcvii. 4.—3. *Ita*, i. e. by his thus halting.—*frustrata*, sc. *est*.—*qui copias*, etc. The four divisions would seem to have been the horse and foot of Bocchus, and the horse and foot of Jugurtha. Of these four the last alone appears not to have come into action.—*æque*, sc. *distributis*.—*aliquos*, etc., i. e. some one division might fall on the rear of the enemy in his line of march, and as they were equally strong it did not matter which.—4. *ceteri*, sc. *equites*.—*in manus* : comp. lxxxix. 3.—5. *invadunt* : comp. Cat. xliii. 1.—6. *Numida*, i. e. *Jugurtha* : comp. lxxvi. 3.—*clam*, i. e. *nesciente Mario*.—*paucis*, i. e. his guards.—*pedites*, sc. *Bocchi* : see § 5. From what follows we think it is plain that it can be only these that are meant. He probably went along the right of the Roman army, which was not now covered by its cavalry, which was engaged with that of Bocchus : § 4.—*convortit*, sc. *sese*, or rather *iter suum*.—7. *barbari*, i. e. *pedites Mauri*.—8. *avortitur*, mid. voice.—*circumventus*, etc. This proves that Jugurtha was with the troops of Bocchus, for all the Roman cavalry was there.—9. *equitibus*, sc. *Romanis*.—*omnibus*, sc. *equitibus regis*, his guards : see liv. 4.—*vitabundus* : see on xxxviii. 1.—10. *equitibus*, sc. *Numidis*.—*suis*, i. e. those who were engaged with Bocchus and Jugurtha.—11. *adfecti*, struck to the ground : see on lx. 7.—*niti*, sc. *ad surgendum*.—*visus erat*, there was a view, one could see. This is an unusual sense of *visus*. We may observe, in fine, that the whole of this description was closely imitated by Tacitus in his earliest work, the *Agricola*, 37.

CII. 1. *Post*, etc., i. e. after this : see on lxiii. 6.—*intenderat*, sc. *iter*.—2. *regis verbis* : comp. xxi. 4.—3. *acciti*, sc. *ab rege*. They should, therefore, rather have waited to hear what he would propose.—5. *Rex Bocche* : comp. xiv. 1. This is one of Salust's peculiarities, for it was not usual with the Romans thus to begin a speech with the name of the person addressed.—*quom*, i. e. *postquam*, not *quod*.—*persequi*, i. e. *persequendi*. A Græcism : see on Cat. xvii. 6. Kritz, however, says that *demeres necessitudinem* is i. q. *non cogeres*.—6. *ad hoc*, sc. *addendum est*.—*a principio*, sc. *rei publicæ*. Most MSS. add *inopi*, which is without sense,

for if the Roman people were such, how could it presume to look to have *servos*?—*ratī*, sc. *Romani*, included in *populo Romano*: see on xv. 1.—7. *in quo*, sc. *statu*.—*offensæ minimum*, i. e. less chance of collision.—*parentis*, i. e. *socios*: see on iii. 2.—*abunde*, in abundance. We, therefore, need not seek to have any more.—8. *ex*, i. q. *a*, in Sallust's usual manner. Kritz endeavours, but we think without success, to show that there is a difference.—9. *Sed*, etc. This is quite in character and suited to Sulla's well-known belief in fortune. For the contrary, but less Roman, mode of thinking, see Juv. x. 365.—*pleraque*: see on xli. 1.—*scilicet*, i. e. *scire licet*.—*placuisse*, sc. *videtur*: see on Cat. xxxi. 7.—*quando*, since.—10. *quo*. This relative is used here in a general indefinite sense.—11. *in pectus*, etc., ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλειν οἷσι, Hom. Il. i. 297.—12. *benigne*, sc. *respondet*.—*pro delicto suo*, i. e. in defence or in excuse of his misconduct in making war on the Romans, who had never injured him.—13. *unde vi*, etc. This was a falsehood (see xvii. 2), but he supposed that the Romans were ignorant of the dealings between himself and Jugurtha.—*eam vastari*, etc. He probably alludes to the late expedition which, as we have said, seems to have been the first attempt of the Romans on the western part of Numidia.—15. *copia facta*, sc. *mittendi legatos*. Sulla and Manlius probably assured him that he might send them. Or it may be, when his friends got an opportunity.—*flexus*, i. e. *reflexus*, given its former bend toward Jugurtha. This, of course, was after the departure of the Roman envoys.

CIII. 1. *Composito*, placed, put into. He uses the compound, as the *whole* army was in quarters.—*expeditis* (sc. *aliquibus*), i. e. *sine impedimentis*.—2. *rursus*. This is to be joined with *delegit*, and refers to cii. 2.—*venerant*, i. e. *evenerant*.—*ex omni*, etc.: comp. Cat. xxxii. 3.—3. *agendarum*, etc., i. e. he gave them *carte blanche*.—4. *proficiscuntur*, set out for; the constant sense of this verb.—*circumventi*, surrounded, i. e. fallen on, attacked: see on l. 6.—*sine decore*, i. e. in ill plight.—*pro prætore*, i. e. as his lieutenant: comp. xxxvi. 4. In these cases the word *prætor* is to be taken in its original sense, as i. q. σπαραγμός. It is remarkable that he thus sets Sulla above Manlius and the other legates. But his office of *quæstor* may have given him a kind of right to it.—*pro*, etc. Kritz says there is a *zeugma* here, as the proper verb with *pro*, etc., is *puto*. But we often find *habeo* with *pro*, as, *Qui amat quod amat, id si habet id habet pro cibo*,

Plaut. Merc. iv. 4, 4. *Id omnino pro non dictum habendum*, Liv. xxiii. 22.—5. *vanis*, lying, faithless.—*adcurate*, i. e. *multa cum cura*.—*avaritiæ*, i. e. having no generosity, doing nothing for nothing.—6. *largitio*, i. e. the giving money, etc. with the hope of a return, nearly the same as *ambitus*.—*multis* (sc. *hominibus*), etc., i. e. it was not universal as it is now.—*volens*, i. e. wishing to serve the person to whom he gave.—*in benignitate* (like *in numero*), i. e. as proceeding from real generosity.—7. *uti . . . adsit*. These terms all properly belong to the Forum and courts of law at Rome.—*fautor*: comp. xv. 2. *Cum multos et bonos viros ejus honori viderem esse fautores*, Cic. Planc. 1. *Eum ad consulem tractum a fautoribus competitorum*, Varr. R. R. iii. 5.—*consultor*. This word signifies him who gives as well as him who asks advice: comp. lxiv. 5; lxxxv. 47. *Malum consilium consultori est pessimum*. Varr. R. R. iii. 2. *Sua exempla in consultores recidunt*, Tac. Ann. vi. 10.—*adsit*. *Inde ibo ad forum atque aliquot mihi amicos advocabo, ad hanc rem qui adsient*, Ter. Phorm. ii. 1, 85. *Adfuit et clientibus*, Suet. Oct. 56.—*benevolentiae* (dat.), sc. *conciliandæ*, sc. *Sullæ in regem*.—*docti*, sc. *ab eo*.

CIV. 1. *confecto*. Most MSS. read *infecto*.—*intenderat*, sc. *animum*, or *iter*.—*illosque*, etc. Kritz, following the great majority of the MSS., inserts *ab Utica* after *Sullam*; while Orelli, following these MSS., reads *ab Tucca*, a place no one has ever heard of. Kritz also omits *Utica* after *prætorem*. We have already observed that this critic's strength lies more in grammar than in a knowledge of the civil and military institutions of Rome. He seems, therefore, to fancy that the province of Africa was included in the command given to Marius (lxxiii. 7; lxxxiv. 1), while it is expressly said that his province was Numidia, i. e. the Numidian war, which Metellus held as proconsul. Now the province of Africa, of which Utica was the capital, was always governed by a proprætor. Marius therefore now as consul summoned the governor of the adjacent province to give him his presence at Cirta. We have already seen that it was in the towns of Numidia that Marius had quartered his troops, and Sulla was probably at this time in one of them.—*L. Bellienum*, sc. *Annum*. "Africam sortitus obtinuit, Sallustius in Jugurthino," Pighius, Ann. iii. 135.—*undique*, i. e. both Numidia and the province.—2. *interea*, i. e. for the time it would take them to go to Rome and to return.—*ea*, i. e. *utrumque*.—*decernunt*, i. e. *sententiam dicunt*: comp. Cat. l. 4.—*semper*, i. e. *quasi semper*.—3. *studium*, sc. *in se*.—4. *errasse regem*, sc. *confessi*, by

zeugma.—*deprecati sunt*, sc. *iram senatus*, or *pœnam ejus*. *Quintum patrem audio profectum in Asiam ut deprecaretur*, sc. *iram Cæsaris*, Cic. ad Att. xi. 6.—5. *solet*. As the senate and people were regarded as the one political body.—*gratiam facit*, i. e. *veniam dat*: comp. Cat. lii. 8.

CV. 1. *cujus arbitratu*, i. e. who being made a plenipotentiary, having full powers.—2. *velitaribus armis*, i. e. those of the *velites* which were a *parma*, a Spanish sword, and some light darts: see Liv. xxxviii. 21.—3. *non amplius*, these words are parenthetical and epexegetic.—*temere*, without any order.—*ampliores vero*, sc. *parere*.—*hostilem metum*: see on xli. 2.—4. *intendere*, sc. *in hostes*. *Super lectum stans ferro intento*, Liv. vii. 5.

CVI. 1. *Adpellat*, addresses: see Cat. xvii. 1.—3. *feroci*, i. e. *intrepido*: see on Cat. xi. 5.—*credere*, sc. *ait*, included in *negat*.—*quam . . . parceret*. This is not uncommon construction. *Perpersus est omnia potius quam consocios delendæ tyrannidos indicaret*, Cic. Tusc. ii. 22.—4. *cœnatos esse*. The passive of *cœno*, is used here as a deponent. The part. alone is often used in that sense.—6. *manu vindicandum*, i. e. that he should be put to death: see xx. 4.—*apud illum*, i. e. in him: comp. xxiv. 10.

CVII. 1. *prohibet*, protects. *A quo periculo prohibete rem publicam*, Cic. pro Leg. Man. 19.—*in maximo metu*, sc. *esse*, i. e. exposing one's self to the greatest danger. *Μωρόν γάρ τὸ κρατεῖν βουλομένους τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἄοπλα καὶ ἄχειρα ταῦτα ἐναντία τάττειν τοῖς πολεμίοις φεύγοντας*, Xen. Cyrop. iii. 3.—*nudum*, i. e. *inermem*.—*cæcum*. As a man has no eyes behind.—3. *ne*, i. e. *ut non*.—*videlicet*, of course, as was plain.—*suum*, i. e. *illorum*.—4. *haberet*, sc. *Jugurtha*.—6. *ut in tali negotio*, i. e. as things then were, since nothing better could be done.—*quia*, etc. The reason why he did not attack them.—7. *perventum est*, sc. *ab iis*.

CVIII. 1. *Orator*, i. e. *legatus*. *Qui verba orationum haberet publice adversus eum quo legabatur, ab oratione orator dictus*, Varro L.L. vii. 41. *Orator sine pace redit regique refert rem*, Ennius ap. eund. ibid. *C. Fabricius ad Pyrrhum de captivis recuperandis missus orator*, Cic. de Clar. Orat. 14: comp. Liv. i. 15; ix. 43, 45; xxx. 16; Virg. Æn. vii. 153; viii. 505; xi. 100, 331.—*speculatum*: see Excursus I. 11.—*Dabar*. It would appear that his father, Massugrada, was a son of Masinissa by one of his concubines. Dabar was, therefore, half-cousin to Jugurtha, and to the sons of Micipsa.—*gente*, family, descendants,

race. We have met no other instance of this restricted use of the term *gens*.—*carus*, etc. : comp. lxx. 2.—*fidum*, i. e. relied on, trusted.—2. *tempus*, sc. *dici*.—*consulta* (sc. *antea*), etc., i. e. he was ready to perform all that he had previously agreed on with him.—*quo*. There is an evident *lacuna* in this place. Kritz thinks that *remoto* has dropt out. Gronovius and Gerlach would read *quin*, Orelli *quom* for *quo*. It appears to us that something also is wanting before *quo*. The conjecture of Kritz may receive confirmation from the following passage : *Excedere omnes jussit de cubiculo quo licentius, remotis arbitris, indicium perageret*, Val. Max. v. 4, 3. Orelli takes *licentius* to be i. q. *laxius et negligentius*, sc. *quam Sulla vellet*. But this is, we believe, an unauthorised sense of the word.—*nequivisse*, i. q. *nequire*, by the poetic enallage. Kritz, however, says that the past inf. is used “*quia non ipsam cautionem adhuc faciendam, sed initum vel captum consilium cavendi respicit*.”—3. *conperior*, i. e. have ascertained.—*Punica fide*. This had become a proverbial expression, to denote saying one thing and thinking another.—*ob ea*, i. e. for those reasons.—*prædicabat* : see on Cat. xlviii. 9.—*Numidam*, i. e. *Jugurtham*. It is to him that the *spe pacis* properly applies.—*adtinuisse*, i. e. *ad, apud se tenuisse*, to have held in hand, as we say.

CIX. 1. *Igitur*, to proceed then : comp. ci. 1.—*responderentur*, sc. *a Boccho*.—3. *præceptum fuerat*, sc. *ei a Sulla*.—*ac*, sc. *ait*.—*ambo*, i. e. Bocchus and Sulla ; not Sulla and Aspar, as Corte absurdly supposes. Aspar, however, though he is not mentioned, was probably present.—4. *internuntius* : see cviii. 2. The want of the article is felt here.—*sanctus*, upright : see on lxxxv. 40.—*ex sententia* (sc. *animi* : see lxxxv. 27), agreeable to, to the mind of. *Nec quemquam fidiorem . . . potes mittere ad eum, nec qui magis sit servos ex sententia*, Plaut. Capt. ii. 2, 96.

CX. 1. *Numquam*, etc. This is a very artificial speech, and does not appear to us to be at all like what Bocchus might have said. What kings, for example, could he ever have known of but those of Numidia, and to whom but Jugurtha could he have rendered assistance?—3. *inminutum*, sc. *esse*.—*fuerit* (fut. perf.), it will have been, i. e. it is the case. The nom. is *eguisse*, etc. *Fuerit delere Saguntum, Exæquare Alpes, imponere vincula sacro Eridano, fœdare lacus etiamne parabit*, etc., Sil. Ital. xii. 695.—4. *licet*, sc. *tibi*.—*animo*, sc. *tuo*.—5. *re publica*, public affairs.—*vostra*, i. e. of you Romans.—*curator*. This is an unusual

employment of this word.—6. *finēs meos*, etc. He still pretends that a part of Numidia belonged to him : see cii. 13.—7. *Id.*, i. e. *tulari finēs*.—8. *intrare*, etc., i. e. *inter regnum*, etc.—*non egrediār*, etc. As he had used *flumen*, in the sense of *finēs*, he employs the verbs properly belonging to this last word.

CXI. 1. *pro se*, i. e. with respect to himself and the compliments to him, etc.—*modice*, i. e. *modeste*.—*multis*, sc. *verbis*.—*in gratiam*, i. e. as a ground of favour.—*faciundum*, sc. *igitur*.—*illo-rum*. The subst. (whether *re*, *causa*, or whatever other) that is understood with *sua* is also to be understood here : see Zumpt, § 449. Kritz has endeavoured to show that Zumpt is mistaken when he asserts, that “the thing which is of interest or importance is not expressed by a subst.,” as it is sometimes joined with the nom. of the pron. or subst. But Zumpt, at least in his last edition, says expressly that it *is* joined with the former, and of the two examples of the latter which Kritz gives, he quotes one (*non quo mea interesset loci natura*, Cic. ad Att. iii. 19), observing that it “is very singular.” The other is, *Plurimum refert soli cujusque ratio*, Plin. Nat. Hist. xviii. 21.—*in promptu*, i. e. *facile*. *Nec tibi quadrupedes animosos ignibus illis . . . In promptu regere est*, Ov. Met. ii. 84. The proper meaning of *in promptu* is, apparent, plain, what has, as it were, been brought out and exposed : comp. Cat. vii. 1.—*Jugurthæ*, sc. *capiundi*? There is no instance, we believe, unless this be one, of *copiam habere* taking after it a gen. of the person without a part. expressed or understood.—2. *cognitionem*, sc. *esse*. The affinity has been already mentioned (lxxx. 6), but nothing appears respecting the kindred.—3. *sæpius*, i. e. over and over again. It all took place at the one interview.—4. *ad simulandam*, i. e. giving Jugurtha hopes of obtaining it.

CXII. 1. *adpellat*, speaks to.—*condicionibus*, on terms. Not an unconditional surrender, as had hitherto been required.—*poni*, i. e. *deponi* or *componi*. Cicero also sometimes uses the simple for the compound of this verb, as *tunicam ponere*, Tusc. v. 20 ; *ponere vitia*, Or. iii. 12 ; *candide ponere inimicitias*, ad Fam. viii. 6.—2. *venit*, goes. The verb *venio* is often thus used for *eo* : the Italians use their verb *venire* in the same way. *A populo clamor ad astra venit*, Ov. Fast. iii. 374. *Romane venio, an hic maneo, an Arpinum fugio?* Cic. ad Att. xvi. 8. *Nullam a me epistolam ad te sino . . . pervenire*, Id. ib. i. 19. Our doubt of the correctness of *venire a me* (on Hor. Ep. ii. 2, 22) was therefore unfounded.—*sæpe*, sc. *nam*.—*pacem conventam* : see

xxxviii. 10.—3. *in potestatem* : see on Cat. xix. 3.—*non*, etc. The construction here is embarrassed ; it should be, *qui non sua*, etc., *in hostium potestatem venisset*.—*sua ignavia*, i. e. his own misconduct or imprudence.

CXIII. 1. *volvens* : see vi. 2.—*voluntates*, inclinations, intentions.—2. *habere*, i. e. *tractare* : see on Cat. xi. 5.—3. *vultu corporis*. A Sallustian expression ; like *timor animi*, etc.—*quæ*, i. e. *quas res*, i. e. his summoning and then sending away his friends, his changes of countenance, etc., indicated the secret perturbation of his mind.—4. *insidias tendit*, i. e. fixes on the place where they should go to meet Jugurtha, and on the mode of placing the soldiers in concealment near it.—7. *Jugurtha Sullæ*, etc. Sulla was so proud of the address with which he managed this affair, that he made it the subject of the engraving of his seal-ring, Plin. xxxviii. 1 ; Val. Max. viii. 15.

CXIV. 1. *Per idem tempus*, etc. : see Hist. of Rome, p. 323.—*Gallos*. They were properly Germans, but as the Gauls were the first people beyond the Alps with whom the Romans were acquainted, they long continued to give that name to all the Transalpine peoples. It was thus that the Greeks called the subjects of Darius and Xerxes Medes.—2. *Illi*, sc. *Romani*. Kritz has placed in the text *ibi*, a conjecture.—*habuere*, sc. *pro certo* ? *Majores nostri sic habuerunt, et ita in legibus posuerunt*, etc., Cat. R. R. præf.—*prona*, i. e. *facilia* : see lxxx. 4.—3. *Kalendis*, etc., i. e. the day he entered on his consulate. For the fate of Jugurtha see Hist. of Rome, p. 322.

EXCURSUS I.

CAT. I. 1.

Language and Style of Sallust.

THE following peculiarities may, we think, be observed in the writings of Sallust. We call them such, not as meaning that they are only to be found in him, but that they are very numerous in his works, as compared with those of Cicero, Cæsar, Varro, and Nepos, the only Latin prose-writers on whom, as his predecessors or contemporaries, he could not have exerted any influence, as he has done to a great extent on Livy, and still more on Tacitus.

1. We will first notice his lavish employment of the historic, or, as Wagner chooses to term it, the absolute, infinitive. It may be here observed that Virgil, who among the poets is distinguished, like Sallust among the historians, by a fondness for unusual words and constructions, is, as we shall see, the only poet that uses it to any extent.

Wagner (Quæst. Virg. xxx.) thus explains this form, which is peculiar to the Latin language in narrative, the Hebrew, Greek, and Italian using the inf. only as an imperative, "Verbo nondum per Tempora Modosque digesto, solo utebantur Infinitivo; quæ ratio loquendi ut est balbutientis infantix, ita hodieque invenitur apud populos quosdam rudes et barbaros; retenta interdum illa quidem etiam a cultioribus populis, nec in concitatione solum, sed etiam in sedata oratione." This, it will easily be seen, is nothing but pure assertion, and we believe inquiry would give an opposite result. Surely, if it was the case, we might expect to find some vestiges of it in Homer. Aristophanes does not even put it into the mouth of his Scythian *ροξότης*, and the negroes in the French and Spanish islands, as far as we are aware, show no predilection for the infinitive mood. If this had been the case in Italy, we should have expected to find it most employed by the earlier writers, but it occurs only rarely in Plautus and Terence, never in the fragments of historians or poets, and never in Lucretius or Catullus.

The truth seems to be, that it owes its origin to the fondness of the Romans for the figure ellipse. In the hurry of animated narrative the speaker would sometimes leave to the mind of the auditor to supply the verb which should precede the infinitive which he used, just as the Germans omit their verb *haben* after participles in their writings. These omitted verbs were usually *cœpi, cœperunt; solet, solent;* and the indef. *cerneres, videres, audires*, etc.; for we may often find these verbs used in passages perfectly similar to those in which they are omitted. We have noted the following instances anterior to Sallust:

Consonat terra; clamorem utrimque efferunt;
Imperator utrimque hinc et illinc Jovi
Vota *suscipere, hortari* exercitum;
Pro se quisque id, quod quisque et potest et valet
Edit, ferro ferit. Plaut. Amph. i. 1, 74.

Sed angues oculis omnis *circumvisere*,

Ego cunas recessim rursum vorsum *trahere et ducere*
tantoque angues acrius
Persequi. Id. ib. v. 1, 61.

Ubi portu exiimus, homines remigio *sequi.*
Id. Bac. ii. 3, 55.

Ego illud sedulo
Negare factum. Ille instat factum.—Ter. Andr. i. 1, 119.

Magna vero *agere* gratias Thais mihi?
Id. Eun. iii. 1, 1, and throughout
the early part of that scene.

Ipsa accumbere
Mecum, mihi sese *dare, sermonem quærere.*
Id. ib. iii. 3, 9.

See also iv. 1, 4, 12; Heaut. v. 1, 19; Phor. i. 2, 67.

Cicero, it might be expected, would make frequent use of this mode of giving animation to the narrative in his orations; but this is by no means the case. In his early speeches he uses it occasionally, as in that for Roscius Amerinus we have in one place (38) eight of these infinitives; in Verr. ii. 76, three; ii. 77, two; iii. 25, four; iv. 15, two; 19, two; 34, five; 65, four. The only instances of it that we have met with in his later speeches are six in that against Piso (28). He does not use it at all in his didactic writings, and very rarely in his Epistles.

Cæsar, it would appear, was at first inclined to use this form,

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as suited to the easy familiar tone of his Commentaries, for we meet with it three times in i. 16, but never afterwards. His good taste, it would seem, revolted against it. Nepos never employs it, neither does Hirtius.

We are now arrived at Sallust, who sows it $\delta\lambda\psi\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \theta\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\psi$: but we must first notice Virgil and Horace. The latter, like the comic poets, uses it sparingly, and with one exception only in light sportive narrative, namely, Sat. i. 9, 9 ; ii. 6, 113 ; Ep. i. 7, 61. The exception is Carm. iii. 16, 7, where the verb to be supplied is *norant*. The former is much more profuse in its employment ; he uses it once in the Georgics (i. 199), and thus lavishly in the *Æneis* : ii. 97, 132, 169, 685 ; iii. 140, 666 ; iv. 421 ; v. 685 ; vi. 199, 491, 557 ; vii. 15 ; viii. 215, 493, 689 ; ix. 377, 509, 538 ; x. 267, 288, 299, 458 ; xi. 142, 822, 883 ; xii. 216—twenty-seven places in all. Wagner gives some more examples, but they may be easily explained on other principles.

The historic infinitive occurs 86 times in the *Catilina*, and 287 times in the *Jugurtha*. In his use of it Sallust is only followed by Livy and Tacitus among the historians ; for it is never to be found in Velleius, Curtius, Florus, or Ammianus. It occurs 38 times in the first two books of Livy, and much more rarely in the remaining books. We meet it 65 times in the two first books of Tacitus' History ; and 44 times in the two first of the *Annals*. These portions of Livy and Tacitus, we may observe, are each more than equal in quantity to the two pieces of Sallust. In fine, the hist. inf. probably appears more frequently in the *Jugurtha* alone than in all the remaining Latin literature. It might therefore, perhaps, be termed the Sallustian infinitive.

2. It seems not improbable that Sallust was the first to use in history the second pers. sing. of verbs indefinitely. The Latin, as is well known, can express but imperfectly the Greek $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, Italian *si*, French *on*, German *man*. Our own language is in the same state, and both agree in substituting for it the second sing. of a verb. Thus, where the French would have *on verrait*, the Latins use *cerneres*, *videres*, *animadverteres*, and we, *you would see*, etc. The most remarkable instance we have met of the use of this indef. is the *Dixeris*, etc. of Horace, Sat. ii. 6, 39, where it means the first person, just like the French *on* ; many instances occur in Sallust, and it is often to be understood in him before the hist. inf. It is not used by Cæsar or Nepos. Even in Livy it occurs but twice (ii. 3 ; iii. 35) in the first three books.

Like ourselves also the Latins sometimes expressed this indef.

by the first plur. A striking instance is *stertimus, on ronfle*, Pers. iii. 3: comp. iv. 42; Juv. iii. 6; Hor. Carm. i. 2, 13. In Cat. i. 3, *qua fruimur* would perhaps be best rendered in French by *dont on jouit*, and *memoriam nostri* by *sa mémoire*, or *la mémoire de soi*.

In this place, therefore, *nostri*, is of each of us individually. We have shown (Hor. Excursus II.) that *nostri*, as a gen. (and of course *vestri, mei, tui, sui*) is, in reality, a possessive, with *caput*, or *corpus*, understood. The proper word, we think, is *caput*, which (and in Greek κεφαλή) answers precisely to our *person* (*mask*) and denotes personality, life, etc. Thus *propter meum caput* (Plaut. Capt. v. 1, 15) is, on *my* account; in *decem capita libera interficis* (Cat. ap. Gell. xiii. 24), *capita* is persons. The meaning of *nostri*, here given, offers an easy explanation of the phrase *similes nostri, vestri*, used so frequently by Cicero. It is *each of us; of you*.

3. Sallust uses what appear to be poetic forms and enallages. Thus the termination of the third perf. plur. in *ere*, instead of *erunt*, is frequent in him, while it never occurs in Cæsar, Nepos, or Cicero. We add this last, for in the two places of his works in which we have met *fuere* (Or. 47; Verr. i. 6), we are confident that it was introduced by the copyists. It must not, however, be concealed that *censuere* occurs in the ancient Senatus-consultum de Bacchanalibus; so that this form may have been in ordinary use in old times.

4. Sallust, we are quite convinced, also in imitation of the poets, uses the enallage of the pluperf. for the perf. of verbs. On no other principle can we explain such passages as Cat. vii. 5; xxiv. 1; l. 4; Jug. xci. 1, and many other places to which we have directed attention in our notes.

5. The use of the simple for the compound verb, so frequent in the poets, occurs also, we think, in Sallust. Thus *querere* is i. q. *acquirere*, Jug. iii. 3; lxxxv. 30, etc.; *captæ*, i. q. *acceptæ*, xxxii. 1; *mittere*, i. q. *demittere*, or *immittere*, lxvii. 1; *poni*, i. q. *deponi*, or *componi*, cxii. 1.

6. Like the poets, Sallust continually uses the freq. as equivalent to the simple verb. Thus he invariably uses *ducto*, never *duco*, a practice in which he is nearly solitary. *Ago* rarely occurs in his writings, while *agito* is frequent. He also uses the following frequentatives: *dictito*, *objecto*, *missito*, *advento*, *sustento*, *imperito*, *negito*, *tutor*, and others.

7. Another practice, in which he agrees with the poets, is in

using the adj. for the adv., as *subdolus ejus augere amentiam*, Jug. xxxviii. 1; *quietus aciem exornat*, lii. 5, etc.

8. Frequently amid adjectives or participles, Sallust uses the gen. or abl. of quality: see Cat. xviii. 4; xlviii. 5, etc.

9. He is also fond of using two nearly synonymous terms for the sake of greater effect, as *liberum atque solutum*, Cat. vi. 1; *neque modum neque modestiam*, xi. 4; *clades atque calamitas*, xxxix. 4; *pollens potensque*, Jug. i. 3; *fessi lassique*, liii. 5; *incerti ignarique*, lxvii. 1; *fidus acceptusque*, lxxi. 3; *varius incertusque*, lxxiv. 1, etc.

10. A double structure also occurs at times in Sallust, as *neque majus aliud neque præstabilius invenias, magisque naturæ industriam hominum quam vim aut tempus deesse*, Jug. i. 2. Here *invenias* governs first the simple acc., and then the acc. with an inf.: see also xxv. 1; xlix. 2; Cat. v. 9. In like manner he uses the same word in different senses.

11. The asyndeton occurs continually in Sallust, especially when he employs the hist. inf.

12. He is very fond of using the figures zeugma and synesis, by which one word is, as it were, included in another. These cases are noticed in the notes.

13. Sallust, like the Greek orators, is fond of employing the personal pron. *ego* with the verb.

14. In Sallust we meet with structures that are rarely, if ever, to be found in other writers. Such are *Quæ homines arant*, etc., Cat. ii. 7; *in usu cotidiano*, etc., xlviii. 2; *camera lapideis*, etc. lv. 4; *in fuga*, lvii. 4; *novissime rediens*, etc., Jug. x. 2; *qui sub imperio*, etc., xiii. 1; *humi pabulum*, xviii. 1: see on Cat. xxxix. 2; Jug. xliii. 2; xlix. 5.

15. He very rarely uses the pron. *se*, almost always *sese*, like the old poets.

16. In the use of the propositions *cum* and *ex*, his practice is peculiar. He employs the former where others use *in*, as *ea modo cum animo habere*, Jug. xi. 8; and the latter, where the ordinary term is *ab*: see Jug. cii. 8.

17. In like manner Sallust's use of *postquam* has somewhat peculiar in it. Of this conj. Cæsar hardly ever makes any use; the author of the piece, De Bell. Alex., employs it only twice, while in that De Bell. Afric., which is not much longer, it occurs not less than fifteen times, and used with the same variety as by Sallust; an argument, by the way, that these two pieces are

not by the same writer. Cicero also makes little use of it. Nepos employs it about fifteen times, sometimes as the first, sometimes as the second word in the sentence ; and to judge by his usage, it should, in Latin prose, be always followed by a verb in the perfect, succeeded by another in the same tense, as *id postquam resciverunt legatos ad eum miserunt*, Paus. 3. The poets, however, frequently use the present tense with a present or a perf. after it, and in this they are followed by Sallust almost alone, for the instances in Tacitus and others are very rare. We meet many instances, but his favourite mode is to use a perf. followed by a present. It is followed in him sometimes by the imperf., of which a few instances occur in other writers ; at other times by the pluperf., of which there are instances, even in Cicero.

18. *Sed*. This conj. in Sallust answers to the Greek *δέ*, and therefore, like it, is sometimes our *but* ; at other times our *now*. Thus *ἦν δὲ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι Δάρης*, Il. v. 9, is *now there was*, etc., and our translators very properly render, *ἦν δὲ ὁ Βαραββᾶς ληστής* (John xviii. 40), *now Barabbas was a robber*. In our notes we have noticed many places where *sed* will bear no other sense than this.

19. *Igitur*. Sallust uses this word for the Greek *οὖν*, or rather *γάρ*, which is employed so frequently, especially by the orators, like our *then*, or *now*, in commencing a narrative or argument. This may be remarked, particularly in the speeches of Isæus, and Sallust more than once thus commences, or resumes a subject : see Cat. liv. 1 ; Jug. lxxiii. 1 ; xcvi. 1. But Sallust's great peculiarities in his use of this word, are his so frequently making it inferential, like our *accordingly*, in which he is countenanced by Varro alone, and his placing it as the first word in the sentence, of which practice we have only a single instance in Nepos, and a very few in Cicero, or even in Livy. Cæsar never uses this word at all, his favourite words of transition being *at*, *ita*, *itaque*.

20. Sallust may also be regarded as the introducer into Latin prose of the word *ceterum*. Indeed, even among the poets it occurs only, we believe, in Terence (Eun. i. 2, 7 ; Hec. iii. 3, 31), for we have not met with it in Plautus. In Nepos (Eun. 8) we have found it once, as also once in Cicero (ad Quint. Fr. ii. 14), but never in Cæsar. It occurs twelve times only in the first five books of Livy, but it is a favourite with Tacitus. Sallust employs it only twice in the Catilina ; but twenty-four times in the

Jugurtha. *Ceterum* is i. q. *ad ceterum*, and answers to the *au reste* of the French.

Other peculiarities of the language of Sallust might be noticed, but these must suffice. We will now say a few words about his orthography.

In the present edition we have followed that of Orelli, who seems to have, in a great measure, adopted the system of Wagner in his edition of Virgil, which is founded on the Medicean MS., and other good authorities. We have only dissented from him in using *cujus* and *cui*, for *quius* and *quoi*, because these are the forms of these words in Wagner's Virgil; and though Wagner, on the best authority, uses *cum*, we have retained Orelli's *quom*, because this is the form in one of the epitaphs of the Scipios, and in the *Senatusconsult. De Bacchanalibus*.

In every edition of Sallust the first word of the Catilina is *omnis*, an acc. pl. From all the remaining monuments, from the Duillian column down to the poem on the battle of Actium, discovered in Herculaneum, and in the Medicean Virgil and other good MSS., we find that the acc. pl. of words making the gen. pl. in *ium*, ended in *is*, not in *es*, and in Lucretius this is written *eis*; for the old Romans, as appears from the above monuments, imitating the Greeks, who pronounced their *ei* like our *ee*, used *ei* for *i*, as *sci*, *si*; *utei*, *uti*; *sibei*, *sibi*, etc. The poet Lucilius, in his ninth book, gave rules on this subject.

Bentley (on Ter. And. ii. 1, 20) showed that no Latin writer, either in verse or prose, anterior to Propertius and Ovid, made the gen. sing. of substantives of the second decl. in *ius* in *ii*, but always in a single long *i*. This rule has been generally received, but Forbiger (on Lucr. iii. 1004) has disputed it. We follow Kritz and Orelli in applying it to Sallust.

In not assimilating the præp. in compound verbs, as in *adpellor*, *inpono*, the Med. MS. is confirmed by the Hercul. fragment; but the ancient usage seems to have been different.

It seems to have been a rule of the Latin language not to use *uu*. Hence Orelli properly writes *quom* (not *quum*, which occurs in no monument), *novos*, not *novus*, etc.

All the editions of Sallust make the superlative in *umus*, not *imus*. In the Med. Virgil the last is used, if the adj. has more than three syllables. *Temptare*, not *tentare* and its tenses, are given by Gerlach, as well as Orelli. This is the orthography of the Med. Virgil.

EXCURSUS II.

CAT. XXVI. 5.

Elections of A.U. 689.

FROM the year 599 the consuls entered on their office on the Kalends of January, and there is every reason to suppose that the elections had been held in the preceding month of June or July. In 691, Cicero, writing to Atticus says (i. 16), *ita comitia in ante diem VI Kal. Sext. dilata sunt*, whence it would appear that the usual time was earlier. In 693, writing to the same he says (ii. 20), *Comitia Bibulus . . . in ante diem XV Kal. Nov. distulit*; but this may only have been one of Bibulus' fruitless attempts at thwarting his colleague Julius Cæsar. In 698 the elections were delayed for seven months (Hist. of Rome, p. 407). They had not taken place at the end of November (ad Att. iv. 17, 18), and probably did not till the beginning of the next year.

We shall elsewhere have occasion to notice a remarkable instance of the delay of the comitia at an earlier period; the question now is, was there a delay in those of A. U. 689? From the manner in which Sallust mentions them, we have no reason to suppose such to have been the case; but Corte says that Fabricius and Muretus were of opinion that they had been put off this year till XII Kal. Nov. They are followed by Schütz and Orelli (ad Cic. Cat.), and by Drumann (Gesch. Roms. v. 448), and Mr. Clinton (Fast. B. C. 63, 4) says, "the consular *comitia*, at which *Murena* was elected, were between *XII Kal. Nov.* and *VI Id. Nov.* Compare Cic. pro Muren. c. 25; Cat. i. 3, 5."

In the first of these places, Cicero says that when it was known that Catilina had held a secret meeting at his house, a *Senatusconsult.* was made, *ne postero die comitia haberentur*, in order that there might be time for enquiry, and that the next day he attacked Catilina in the senate, who boldly avowed his designs. He adds, that a few days before Catilina had uttered his celebrated threat in reply to Cato (see on xxxi. 9), and then tells how the elections came on, and how Catilina was defeated. In all this we see no mark of time; every thing noticed here might have taken place in July as well as in October. All that Cicero says in Cat. i. 3, is that Catilina had deferred the murder

of the nobility till V Kal. Nov., on which day Cicero had foiled him by his guards and his other precautions. But surely it does not follow that that was the day of the election. In ch. v. of the same speech, we see nothing relating to this matter, for no inference can be drawn from the words *proximis comitiis*, while from *quotiescumque me petisti*, it follows that Catilina made various attempts on the life of Cicero. But as Cicero's speech for Murena was delivered between V. Id. Nov., and IV. Id. Dec., and there, in speaking of his election (c. 41), he says, *paucis ante diebus in gratulatione*, etc., and *quibus in locis* (i. e. Gallia) *paucis ante diebus factum esse consulem Murenam nuntii celebrassent*, Clinton infers that the election must have been in October. Against this, however, we are to recollect with what latitude the Romans used words relating to time (see on Jug. ix. 3), and we shall see that Cicero, as an orator, might well speak of a few months as a few days.

According to Sallust (xxvii. 1), Catilina, after his failure at the election, sent Manlius to Fæsulæ, while he himself remained actively engaged in making arrangements at Rome. It was evidently *after* this that the decree, investing the consuls with absolute power was made (xxix. 2), which Cicero, on the VI Id. Nov. (8th) says, had been passed twenty days before (Cat. i. 2). Finally, it was known at Rome (xxx. 1) that Manlius had appeared in arms on the VI Kal. Nov. (27th Oct.) So far Sallust. Cicero in his speech, on the VI Id. Nov., in the presence of Catilina (Cat. i. 3), asserts that he had stated in the senate on the XII Kal. Nov. (21st. Oct.) that Manlius would be in arms on the VI Kal. Nov., and that such had been the case. If, then, the elections were, as is asserted, on the V Kal. Nov., Manlius was already in arms, and Sallust's narrative is glaringly erroneous. But as this is not a very likely supposition, we must reject that hypothesis, and say, that though the elections may have been somewhat delayed, they were probably held before October.

EXCURSUS III.

CAT. LV. 3.

Carcer and Tullianum.

THE only building remaining in Rome, with the exception of the Cloaca Maxima, which belongs to the time of the kings, is the

Carcer Mamertinus, which forms the under part of the church of San Pietro in Carcere, at the foot of the Capitol, to the right, as one ascends from the Arch of Severus. It consists of two rooms, one over the other. The lower one, which has evidently been broken out of the tufa-rock of which the Capitoline hill is composed, is of a semicircular form, its base being a wall of the stone named *peperino* (see Hist. of Rome, p. 488), and the semicircular breach in the rock is lined with a wall of the same substance in three layers, each advancing beyond the other, whence a flattish arched stone roof extends to the front wall. About the centre of this is a hole cut in two of the large stones that form it, two feet in diameter. A flight of steps leads down into it from the upper room, and in its floor is a spring of water which never dries and never overflows, and which, according to the modern legend, sprang up to enable St. Peter, when a prisoner there, to baptize the gaoler whom he had converted. Its floor is sunk into the rock somewhat lower than the surface of the pavement of the adjacent Arch of Severus, which is on a level with that of the Forum. Its greatest length is about twenty-two feet, and its height in the middle about six feet and a half. It is to be observed, that the whole of the walls and roof must have been built at the one time, as the holes for the scaffolding necessary for forming the latter are still to be seen in the walls.

The upper room is of the same breadth, but somewhat longer than the lower room. It is also higher. Its front wall rises directly from that of the other room; its roof is arched in the ordinary way, running from north to south; both roof and walls are built of the tufa of the place. There is a square hole in the roof, and a window in the east wall, both of which have been broken out long since it was built; but on the south side (i. e. toward the Arch of Severus) there is a door or passage evidently ancient, as also is a window in its northern end.

This, then, is the ancient Roman Carcer, or at least a portion of it, the building of which is ascribed to Ancus Marcius (Liv. i. 33), and the lower room is the Tullianum, said to have been added by Servius Tullius (Varro, L. L. v. 151), or, as some said, by Tullus Hostilius; but in that case it would be Hostilianum, like the Curia built by that monarch. The origin of the epithet Mamertinus, is unknown. The ancients do not appear to have been acquainted with it. We meet it first in the Martyrologies, and in the Ordo Romanus of the middle ages. It may be only

a term formed from Marcius, by some one who knew that Mamers was i. q. Mars, or it may be connected with the statue named Marforio, which lay in its vicinity, the name of which appears to us to be fairly deduced by Bunsen from the not very distant Forum Augusti, which may have been named Martis, or Mamertis Forum, from the splendid temple of Mars which it contained.

From the description above given of the Tullianum, and its position with respect to the remainder of the Carcer, it is quite plain that it could not have been an addition to it, and its name shows that it could hardly have been made by Tullus Hostilius. Another derivation of it must, therefore, be sought, and the following, first given by a German scholar named Forchhammer, and adopted by Abeken, seems to us to have everything in its favour.

Festus has the following article: *Tullios alii dixerunt esse silanos, alii rivos, alii vehementes projectiones sanguinis arcuatim, quales sunt Tiburi in Aniene. (Le Cascadelle.) Ennius in Ajace; Ajax misso sanguine tepido tullii efflantes volant.* Here the *tullii* of Ennius answer to the *σβιργγες* of Sophocles (Ajax, 1412), and are the *vehementes projectiones*, etc. of Festus. A *silanus* (see Mythol. p. 234) appears to have been a spout or fall of water, and not as Dacier (on Fest. v.) explains it, *aquarum tubus aut fistula*. *Quales . . . Aniene* ought perhaps to follow *silanos* in the above passage. Supposing then a *tullus* (from *tullo*, *tollo*) to denote a *spring*, a *tullianum* might be a well- or spring-house, or receptacle for the water from it, like the *castella* of the aqueducts, and such may actually be still seen in the wall of the lower town at Tusculum and in other places. Now in the eastern (i. e. front) wall of the Tullianum, there is to be seen the mouth of an emissary, or canal, which has been traced for a space of 360 feet, to behind the temple of Faustina, the object of which may have been to carry off the water when it rose above the level which was deemed sufficient for the necessary supply, and we have only to suppose that the original floor was two or three feet below the surface of the present one, to have an abundant supply of water in the place, yielded by the present spring. The use of the hole in the roof was then, evidently, to let down a bucket for drawing up the water.

Such, then, appears to have been the original use of the Tullianum. Afterwards, either because the water may not have been considered good, or that a prison may have been required near

the Forum, it was resolved to convert the well-house to that use. For this purpose, the floor of the under-room was raised to its present level in order to convert it into a place of execution, either by strangling, as in the instance in the text and in that of Pleminius (Liv. xxxiv. 44), or by starvation, as in that of Jugurtha. The only entrance into it was, we think, the hole in the roof, which is wide enough to admit the body of a man. Abeken, indeed, infers from this place of Sallust that the present stairs were made at the time of the change, but we cannot agree with him.

This view seems to receive some confirmation from the exclamation of Jugurtha when about to be put down into it. Ἡράκλεις ὡς ψυχρὸν ὑμῶν τὸ βαλανεῖον (Plut. Mar. 12), in which place also the words of the historian ὥσθεις δὲ γυμνὸς εἰς τὸ βάραθρον κατεβλήθη, seem to confirm our view of there not having been any stairs.

That cisterns and such places were used as prisons in the East appears from Gen. xxxvii. 24, and Jerem. xxxviii. 6, and from Plautus it might seem that such was also the case in Italy. Thus (Aul. ii. 5, 20), the cook says that if anything was missed, the cry was: *Coci abstulerunt, comprehendite, Vincite, verberate, in puteum condite*; and perhaps the same is meant in, *Inde porro ad puteum atque ad robustum codicem*, Pœn. v. 3. 39. As the Carcer was a prison, we are to suppose that beside the Tullianum and the room over it, it contained other rooms in which prisoners were kept (Liv. xxxviii. 59; Sen. Controv. 27). It is also probable that the captive leaders who preceded the car of the triumphing general, and who were taken into the Carcer on the right when his car turned on the left to ascend the Clivus, were forthwith put down into the Tullianum and strangled.

In the place of Livy just referred to, Nasica, when pleading for his cousin, L. Scipio, says, *ut in carcerem inter fures nocturnos et latrones vir clarissimus includatur, et in robore et tenebris expiret, deinde nudus ante carcerem projiciatur*. The latter part reminds us of the Scalæ Gemoniæ so celebrated under the early emperors, and evidently means the same thing. We have seen above that there was an entrance from without to the room over the Tullianum, and, in all probability, the steps leading up to it were the Scalæ Gemoniæ, and when the criminal was strangled, his naked body was drawn up and left for some time exposed to public view on those steps, which probably derived their name from their dolorous use, like the Bridge of Sighs at Venice.

By the *robur* in the passages just cited is plainly meant the Tullianum. *Robus* (says Festus *s. v.*) *quoque in carcere dicitur, is locus quo præcipitatur malficorum genus, quod antea arcis robusteis includebatur*. It had been the custom to confine persons in wooden chests, as in the case of Regulus (Hist. of Rome, p. 187), and it continued to be so in the case of slaves : Cic. Mil. 22. The place above quoted from the Pœnulus of Plautus seems to refer to this custom. Calpurnius Flaccus (Declam. 5) says, *Video carcerem publicum saxis ingentibus structum, angustis foraminibus tenuem lucis umbram recipientem. In hunc conjecti robur Tullianum prospiciunt*. An almost inexplicable passage is the following of Valerius Maximus (vi. 3, 1), where he says of the friends of the Gracchi, *de robore præcipitati sunt*. One might rather have expected *in robur*. He could hardly allude to the exposure on the Scalæ Gemoniæ.

Varro, when speaking of the Carcer and the Tullianum, adds, *Quod Syracusis ubi delicti causa custodiuntur vocantur Latomiæ, inde Lautumia translatum, quod hic quoque in eo loco lapidicinæ fuerunt*. It has hence been inferred that Lautumiæ was another name for the Carcer. But this is an error, the Lautumiæ was a different prison and in a different situation from the Carcer. That it was different, appears from this. Sabinus, *cum introductus esset ex carcere in senatum . . . rogavit ut in Lautumiis transferretur*, Sen. Controv. 27; and from two places of Livy (xxvi. 27, xxxix. 44), it is manifest that the Lautumiæ, so named probably from the prison that stood in it (as our Newgate Street from Newgate), was behind the Forum, at the opposite end from the Carcer. This was a lighter place of confinement, for prisoners of war and hostages used to be kept in it (Liv. xxxii. 26, xxxvii. 3), and as we do not hear of it before the time of the second Punic war, it was probably built at that period and named after the celebrated prison at Syracuse, just as the gaol in the city of Dublin is called Newgate, and houses of correction in general are named Bridewells. There is, in fact, no reason whatever for supposing that there ever was a stone-quarry in the part of Rome where the Lautomiæ stood.

We will now compare Sallust's description of the Tullianum with what has been stated respecting the present form of that prison.

It is, he says, *ubi paullum ascenderis ad lævam circiter XII pedes humi depressus*. Here all the MSS. but six read *ascenderis*, which is the reading adopted by the Bipont editors, by Lange, and

some others. Corte adopted *escenderis*, the conjecture of Palmer, which means the same thing, while Gerlach and Kritz, following those six MSS., read *descenderis*, which is also the reading preferred by Abeken. They seem, as Gerlach plainly says, to think it is required by the following *depressus*, which, however, is not the case by any means. It is on the supposition of this being the true reading that Abeken infers that the present flight of steps existed in the time of Sallust, and as the height of the Tullianum is not quite seven feet, he supposes him to have made an inexact computation from the height of the outer steps. Then as to one entering on the south side, the only entrance at any time, those steps down to the Tullianum are on the *right*, not on the left, he says that *ad levam* merely means the left side of the prison in general, on which side the Tullianum lay.

We would explain these difficulties in the following manner. Abeken is, we think, right in taking *ad levam* to mean the left hand side of the prison. The Carcer, we have seen, was used as a place of confinement as well as of execution; it must, therefore, have contained several rooms beside those two mentioned, and have had another entrance, which, of course, was placed on the east side, i. e. the front, and of which the Tullianum was consequently on the left. As there was no communication between this part and the rest of the prison, and the only access to it was by the Gemonian steps, we think it is these, of which there could not have been many, that Sallust means when he says *ubi paullum ascenderis*, and as he probably had never been in the Tullianum, he may have miscalculated its depth. Or may he not have written VII, and the copyists have converted it into XII?

It may seem strange, that the only entrance to this place of doom should be on the exterior. But this, we think, was in consequence of the Roman custom, different from the Athenian, of having executions public. Thus, in the old time, when scourging and beheading were in use, the place of execution was the Forum. It was there that Brutus, with unmoved features, beheld the death of his sons (Hist. of Rome, p. 31). There also suffered the Tarquinian captives (ib. p. 130), the men of the eighth legion (ib. p. 177), and others. In like manner criminals were flung from the Tarpeian rock, in view of the people, and as the remaining mode of executing, strangling in the Tullianum, was necessarily secret, it was made as public as possible. The condemned were led from the Carcer, or elsewhere, in view of the Forum, to the Gemonian steps, up them and into

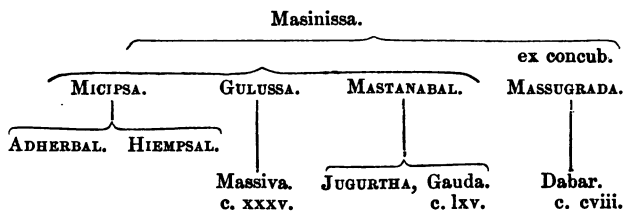
the press-room, as we may term it, and when dead their bodies were exposed on those steps. We must here remind the reader, that in perusing these descriptions it must be recollected that the present *Salita*, from which one enters now, is modern. In ancient times there was an open space between the Temple of Concord and the Carcer and other buildings about it, if any. In this space were the Gemonian steps, and further back those leading up to the Temple of Moneta, on the Arx : see on Ovid. Fast. i. 638.

The mode of execution we conceive to have been as follows. It is still the barbarous custom on the continent to bring together to the place of execution all who are to suffer, and to execute them consecutively, the last man therefore witnessing the death of all his fellows. We can hardly suspect the Romans of being more humane, and may therefore suppose that Lentulus and his companions, for example, were assembled in the press-room ; that Lentulus was pinioned, which was probably usual, in order to prevent a struggle, and let down through the hole to the executioners below, by whom he was strangled, in a manner similar to that by the bow-string in Turkey, and when he was dead, another was put down in the same manner, and so on to the end. The usual course was then, as we have seen, to expose the bodies on the outer steps, to prove that they were dead ; but we know not if that was done in the present case. It is further doubtful if the custom which prevailed under the Empire, of dragging the naked body by a hook over the Forum, and along the streets leading to the Tiber, and then flinging it into that river, prevailed also under the Republic. We rather think that it did, for Memmius (Jug. xxxi. 7) says, that after the death of C. Gracchus and Fulvius, *multi mortales in carcere necati sunt*, and we elsewhere learn (Hist. of Rome, p. 307) that their bodies were thrown into the Tiber. As it was probably from the Sublician bridge that they were flung, we suspect that there was some analogy in this practice with that of throwing the Argei from it : see Ovid, Excursus VI. In both cases the Tiber may have been supposed to carry guilt and pollution away from the city.

In conclusion, we must express our obligation to Abeken's *Mittelitalien* for much of the materials of the present Excursus.

EXCURSUS IV.

JUG. v. 5.

Royal House of Numidia.

The name of Masinissa's father was Gala (Liv. xxvii. 19); of his ancestors nothing is known. When he was dying, he left, according to Appian (Pun. 106), the disposal of his kingdom to Scipio Africanus the younger, by whom it was divided among his three legitimate sons in the following manner: to Micipsa, who was the eldest, he assigned Cirta, with the palace and the supreme dignity; to Gulussa the command of the army; and to Mastanabal the administration of justice. The illegitimate children of the deceased monarch were also provided for. It is not easy to see how such an arrangement as this could be permanent without the compressing power of Rome; for he that commanded the troops would soon be supreme. The early deaths, however, of the two younger brothers prevented dissension. It would appear that Micipsa contemplated a similar triarchy among his three successors, which was defeated by the ambition of Jugurtha.

Mastanabal, the youngest of the brothers, had, as we see, two sons, Jugurtha and Gauda. The former we know was illegitimate, but it may be doubted if the same was the case with the latter; for if it was, why would Micipsa leave *him* heir in remainder of the kingdom, passing over Massiva, the son of his next brother Gulussa, and of whose legitimacy there seem to be no grounds of doubt? It is not, therefore, unlikely that he was legitimate, and that the preference of him to Massiva rested on grounds with which we are unacquainted. There is further a difficulty in Sallust's observation, that Jugurtha had been left in

a private station by *Masinissa* ; for it would rather seem to be the part of his own father to provide for him.

We are not informed how the kingdom of Numidia was disposed of after the capture of Jugurtha, and we know that it had kings still in the early part of the Roman empire. Was it given to the weak-minded Gauda, or to some collateral branch of the royal family? *Masinissa*, we know (*Liv. ut sup.*), had a nephew named *Massiva*, who probably left a family. Certainly (*Plut. Pomp. 12*), in A. U. 670, that is, three-and-twenty years after the time of Jugurtha, the kingdom was disputed by two princes, who we are to suppose belonged to the royal family, the one supported by the Marian, the other by the Sullian party among the Romans. The latter, named *Hiempsal*, was of course successful, and king *Juba*, who adhered so faithfully to the party of the Pompeians against *Cæsar*, was probably his son or grandson. The son of this prince, of the same name, was led in triumph by *Julius Cæsar*, but *Augustus* gave him in marriage *Selene*, a daughter of *M. Antonius* by *Cleopatra*. He was a distinguished writer in the Greek language. His son and successor, *Ptolemæus*, was murdered by command of the emperor *Caius*, who was his cousin by the mother's side, and with him ended the royal line in Numidia : see *Dion. lix. 25* ; *Suet. Cal. 26*.

EXCURSUS V.

JUG. XVIII. 8.

Numidian Mapalia.

THE origin of this term, which is also written *Magalia*, is evidently Punic ; for *Servius* (on *Æn. i. 421*) says, *Magor Pænorum lingua villam significat*, and in the Hebrew *magûr* (מגור) signifies a *wandering*, a *sojourning*, and thence a *dwelling*, or properly a *tent*, corresponding exactly with the Numidian *mapale* ;—for this sing. occurs once : *Coit e sparso concita mapali Agrestum manus*, *Val. Flac. ii. 460*. *Magalia*, with the first syllable long, and which comes nearer to the Punic word, is peculiar to *Virgil*.

Sallust, as we see, describes the Numidian *mapalia* as being of the form of a boat with its keel up, and it is very remarkable, that though the nomadic tribes of northern Africa at the present day are of Arab descent, the original form of the tent is still

retained, at least in the more western parts. Mr. Drummond Hay, in his entertaining little work on Western Barbary, says (p. 43) of the tents of the Arabs, "These tents are seldom more than seven or eight feet high in the centre, but in length from twenty to thirty feet, and with some wealthy sheikhs they are considerably larger. *Their form is somewhat similar to that of a boat with its keel upwards.*" St. Jerome, we may observe (*in prol. Amos*), says, *Agrestes quidem casæ, et furnorum similes, quas Afri appellant mapalia*, which very well agrees with the above description. According to Shaw (*Trav. in Barb. i. 220*), *Beit-esh-Shar*, "house of skins," is the name given to the single tent.

But Cato, when describing the *mapalia* (*ap. Fest. s. v.*), says, *ea quasi cohortes rotundæ sunt*, and as the *cohors* was the court or yard of the *villa*, it follows that this description cannot apply to single tents. This difficulty, however, is easily obviated. *Mapalia* was used, as in this place of Sallust, of the tents alone, or of the collection of tents, the encampment, the modern *dooar*, as in *xlvi. 5*; in *Virg. Geor. iii. 340*; and in the place of Valerius Flaccus quoted above, where the sing. is collective. The Arab *dooar*, like the Kaffir and Hottentot *kraal*, is of a circular form, containing an open space in the centre, and thus exactly resembling a *cohors rotunda*. The reason of this form is to afford protection to the cattle during the night. Captain Kennedy, when speaking of his visit to the *dooar* of the tribe of Oolad Makhtar, in the Little Desert south-west of Algiers, says (*Algeria and Tunis, i. 123*), "As the sun set, the horses, flocks, and herds, that had left the encampment in the morning were seen approaching the *dooar* from all sides, it being the invariable practice to enclose them during the night in the centre of the circle formed by the tents, both for security against robbers and to prevent straying." Security against wild beasts must be another object in the *dooars* which are more in the vicinity of these animals.

In the description which Virgil gives (*Geor. iii. 339, seq.*) of the life of the Libyan herdsmen, we have, along with the *dooar*, the never-failing dogs which were its guards, just as at the present day. In that place *armentarius* is, we may observe, a collective noun; for no one lives alone in the plains of Africa.

EXCURSUS VI.

JUG. XIX. 7.

Kingdom of Numidia.

WHEN, during the Second Punic War, the Romans first became familiar with Numidia, it was divided into two separate and independent realms ; the one that of the Masæsilians, commencing at the river Mulucha which divided them from the Mauri, and extending eastwards, but how far is not known ; the other that of the Massylians, lying to the west and south of the territory of Carthage. The first was ruled by a prince named Syphax, whose capital seems to have been Sicca, on the Laturus Sinus (Gulf of Tremizen), nearly opposite Almeria in Spain : see Strab. xvii.3; Liv. xxviii. 17, 18. The other was governed by Gala, the father of Masinissa, and it is probable that Cirta was his capital, though from the scantiness of the accounts which we have, it may, in reality, have belonged to the realm of Syphax, whose capital it certainly was when Scipio invaded Africa. At the end of the war the Romans gave the whole of Numidia to Masinissa, who extended it so much that, at the time of his death, he ruled from the Mulucha as far, it is said (App. Pun. 106), as the confines of Cyrene, or on a more moderate computation, beyond the shores of the Lesser Syrtes, which gives his realm an extent of about twelve degrees of longitude, or upwards of 800 miles. Its breadth from the Mediterranean to the country of the Gætulians (Beled-ul-jerêd) was between three and four degrees of latitude, i. e. better than 200 miles. From this is to be subducted the Province or latest territory of Carthage whose limits are uncertain, but which probably did not extend much more than 100 miles from east to west, or than 50 or 60 from north to south. Numidia was, therefore, co-extensive with the modern Algeria and Tunis.

All the places mentioned by Sallust in the narrative of the Jugurthine war, were, with the exception of Utica, the Roman seat of government, in Numidia. But very few of them can be identified or their sites ascertained, partly in consequence of the vague accounts given by the historian, but still more from their having gone so quickly to ruin ; for as Strabo observes, *συνηφανίσθησαν δὲ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ αἱ πόλεις*, on which occasion he enumerates nearly all those mentioned in the Jugurthine war.

We will, however, give all that we have been able to collect or conjecture respecting these long-forgotten towns.

1. *Cirta*. This town still exists, and is a place of some importance. It derived its name from the Punic *Kirya* (in regim. *Kiryath*), a town. Its site is the surface of a great rock sloping to the south-east, and separated from the mountain to which it belongs by a ravine of great depth, at the bottom of which runs a stream (now called the *Rummel*), which, joining the river Amsaga (*Uled-Kebeer*, i. e. Great River), enters the Mediterranean at a distance of about 50 miles from Cirta. The only natural entrance to the city is on the south, where a ridge, 300 yards in width and precipitous on each side, connects it with an adjacent height. In the civil war Cæsar gave it to Sittius (see on Cat. xxi. 3) who had taken his side, and it was named from him Colonia Sittianorum. In the fourth century, being destroyed by the troops of Maxentius, it was restored by Constantine the Great who called it after himself Constantina, the name it still bears. According to Strabo (xvii. 3), in the time of the Numidian kings it could send to the field 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot. Its present population is under 30,000. Its port in ancient times was Rusicada, at the mouth of the Amsaga, and in the same place the French have built a town named Philippeville, from which town a diligence now runs regularly to Constantina.

2. *Zama*. This city, famous for the defeat of Hannibal in its vicinity, Sallust says (Jug. lvii. 1), lay in a plain. Polybius (xv. 5) and Livy (xxx. 29) say, that it was five days' journey south of Carthage, while Nepos (Han. 6) makes it to be 300 miles, and Appian (Pun. 47) nearly 400 miles west of Adrumetum. These last distances, however, are utterly impossible. Supposing the five days' journey of Polybius to be 80 or 90 miles, the distance of any place south or south-west of Carthage, where it would terminate, could not be even so much from Adrumetum. The most probable site of this long-vanished city was in the plain which lies southwards of the river Bagrada (*Majerdah*) before it turns to the north.

3. *Sicca*. When Metellus, probably coming from the north-west, was on his march to Zama (Jug. lvi.), he sent Marius out of the route for a supply of corn to Sicca. This town, therefore, lay probably not far from Zama, and it seems to have been on the same site as the modern town of *Keff*, which lies on the south side of the mountain-range which bounds, on the north, the plain in which we suppose Zama to have lain.

4. *Vaga*. In several MSS. of Sallust this town is named Vacca. It seems to be the *Θάρα* of Strabo (xvii. 3). Its site is now utterly unknown, but it could not have been far from the province on the west or south; for Metellus, who was in winter-quarters in the province when the Vagenses rose on and massacred the Roman garrison (Jug. lvi.), reached it in one night's march (lviii.).

5. *Suthul*. This town also is unknown. As we are not informed where the winter-quarters of the Roman army under Aulus were (Jug. xxvii. 3), we are quite in the dark respecting its position. As, however, they were probably, as usual, in the province, it seems likely that Suthul lay at some distance to the south or west of it.

6. *Thala*. This town, we are told (lxxv. 2), lay 50 miles from (probably south of) a river. What this river was named or where its course was, we are not informed, but it was probably the southern branch or upper course of the Bagrada (*the Serratt*), as this is the only stream of magnitude, except its other branch, the Muthul (*Sujerass*), in that part of Numidia, in which the military operations of the Romans were carried on at that time. That Thala lay in this part of Numidia, also appears from the circumstance of the people of Leptis sending to Metellus at that time, for their motive probably was his being in the vicinity. Thala, like Zama, Capsa, and others, had disappeared in the days of Strabo.

7. *Capsa*. Of this town all we know is, that it lay in the desert, and that the nearest water to it was a stream named the Tana (lxxxix., xc.). In modern maps there is a town named Caffsa, placed about 60 or 70 miles to the west of the Lesser Syrtes (*Gulf of Cabes*), which may be on the site of Capsa, which we must, however, recollect was no longer existing in the time of Strabo.

8. *Leptis*. There are said to have been two cities of this name, a *Major* and a *Minor*. The former, which lay between the two Syrtes, and was also named Neapolis, is evidently the one mentioned by Sallust (xix. 3, lxxviii. 2). Its modern name is *Lebida*. If, as there is reason to suppose, it was under the dominion of the kings of Numidia (see on lxxviii. 4), it proves how far to the east their realm extended: comp. Cæs. Bell. Civ. ii. 38.

EXCURSUS VII.

JUG. xxxvii. 1.

Elections for A. U. 643.

It has been already observed that, at this time, the consuls entered on their office on the Kalends of January, and that the ordinary time for their election was the preceding June or July. But, in the present instance, this rule seems to have been violated in a most unusual way, and, strange to say, not one of the writers on the Roman constitution has, to our knowledge, noticed it. Becker, the latest, and one of the best, even asserts as follows (*Handbuch der Röm. Alter*, II. i. 88): "But far less did the case ever occur that the consuls prolonged their period of office beyond the legal time," and (*ib.* 95) "for beyond a complete year assuredly no consulate ever lasted."

Albinus, we are told (xxxvi. 4), returned to Rome for the elections. This was probably in June. Two of the tribunes, it seems, had taken it into their heads to imitate C. Gracchus (*Hist. of Rome*, p. 303) and have themselves re-elected contrary to law. Irritated, it would appear, with the opposition which they encountered, they used their interceding power to prevent all the elections, and that for the rest of the year; for it was, at earliest, in the January of the following year that Aulus met with his defeat, and on the receipt of this intelligence the *consul* Albinus consulted the senate on the subject, and then went out to resume the command in Africa. Now no elections could well have taken place before that time, for the tribune Mamilius, who then brought the affairs of Numidia before the people (xl. 1), was one of the tribunes of the preceding year; and Metellus and Silanus, the consuls of the next year, are (xliii. 1) termed *designati*, expressly after the time when Aulus made the treaty with Jugurtha, that is, after January. This is, therefore, a clear case of the extension of the consulate beyond the year.

The question now arises, by whom the consular elections were held. It could not have been by Minucius, the colleague of Albinus, for his province was Macedonia, where he was engaged in war with the tribes beyond Mt. Hæmus. If by Albinus himself before his departure, it would follow that, at that time, it was necessary that a period of some duration should elapse

between the election to the consulate and the entrance on office. It would, however, seem to be more probable that the elections were held by an interrex, as is supposed to have been the case in 600, when one consul was dead and the other absent in Spain. They could not have been held by a prætor or any inferior magistrate : see Cic. ad Att. ix. 9, 3.

ADDITIONAL ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

HORACE.

Sat. i. 2, 125. The poet himself begins to speak here.

—— 3, 127. The Greek and Latin terms are joined in the same way by Cæsar : *tanta subito malacia ac tranquillitas extitit*, Bell. Gall. iii. 15.

—— 5, 10. By *missæ pastum*, unless Horace made a mistake, must be meant *let to feed*, not *let to graze* ; for there could have been little or no grass in a place where the boats probably stopped every night. Barley, or other provender for the mule, may have been brought in the boat, and he was tied to the stone while he fed. As there are no stones lying about in the Pomptine Marshes, this one must have been put there for this or some other purpose. There may have been mile-stones along the canal, or the track-way may have run so close to the Appian Road that one of its mile-stones may have been used for the purpose.

—— 36. As we have been the first to show that the *prunæ batillum* of Horace was the *braciere* (in Tuscan *caldano*), answering in some sort to our chafing-dish, and in use all round the Mediterranean, even in Turkey and Egypt, we will give the following additional proofs of the correctness of our views.

The form of the *bracieri* found in Pompeii is that of a trough with legs or on a stand : see Becker, Gallus, p. 211. Now Varro, when describing the various modes of cutting corn in Italy, says (R. R. i. 50), “*Altero modo metunt ut in Piceno, ubi ligneum habent incurvum batillum, in quo sit extremo serrula ferrea. Hæc cum comprehendit fascem spicarum desecat, et stramenta stantia in segete relinquit, ut postea subsecantur.*” It is quite plain that this *batillum* must have been oblong so as to go over a breadth of the field equal to its own length, receiving the ears as they were cut off by the *serrula*. There was also an implement

of the same form but longer, and propelled by an ox, used for this purpose in Gaul: see Virg. *Terms of Husb. v. Messis*. We infer from all this, that the form of the *prunæ batillum* was oblong, and that it was too large and too heavy to be carried before any one.

In our note we said, that Aufidius might have been sitting in his hall of justice, where the travellers visited him. But we have since recollected, that even at Rome the prætor held his court in the open air in the Forum. The usage could hardly have been different at Fundi, and possibly as Aufidius sat on his tribunal in the market, he may have had a *prunæ batillum* beside him, which unusual circumstance may have caused the meritment of the travellers as they rode by; for as it is only twelve miles from Anxur, there is no reason to suppose that they stopped at Fundi.

— 91. The note is on the text as usually pointed. We fell into the same error in our note on Virg. *Geor. ii. 136*.

— 6, 22. Orelli is wrong in saying that the Italian *starsi ne' suoi panni* illustrates this place. The place of the Promessi Sposi to which he refers is *mettersi nei miei panni*, "put yourself in my place." *Non star ne' panni* (or *capir nella pelle*) is, not to be able to contain one's self. Like our, jump out of one's skin—for joy.

— 8, 36. The note on this place is confirmed by the following passage of Cicero (*Phil. ix. 7*), "*Utique locum sepulchro in campo Esquilino* C. Pansa consul, seu quo alio in loco videatur, pedes triginta quoquoersus adsignet, quo Ser. Sulpicius inferatur." It was probably only the public burial-ground that Mæcenæ took for his gardens.

— 38. In proof of our assertion that *corvus* is crow, *cornix* raven, we may add, that the ravens may often be seen, on the coast of Ireland, engaged as Virgil (*Geor. i. 389*) describes the *cornix*.

— ii. 1, 48. For other examples see Zumpt, § 761. Perhaps for Turius we should read Thorius, a known name.

— 2, 60. The *repotia* continued down to late times in Italy. "Già costumavasi, e forse ancora in alcuni luoghi si costumava, che le spose, dopo essere state dieci o dodici giorni in casa lo sposo, se ne tornino alla casa paterna per starvi qualche giorno e questo si dice *Far la ritornata*," Minucci sul Malmant. Racquist. C. xii. st. 48.

— 123. *Noctem . . . solemnibus epulis ludicram*, Tac.

Ann. i. 50 ; so also Xenophon (Conv. 1) terms an *epula* a *παῖδιά*. *Chiappe di fichi*, in preceding note, is "fig-buttocks."

—— 3. 119. Virg. Geor. iv. 243, *seq.* The *blatta* is our black-beetle (see Plin. xi. 28), which is *lucifuga*, and destroys garments, etc. We have never heard of its entering beehives ; but we have known all the sweet wines in a cellar to be drunk by the beetles which ate through the corks of the bottles for the purpose, and did not touch any of the other wines. The *tinea*, *σῆς*, is the grub or *larva* of the moth ; it is also the book-worm whose origin is different.

—— 217. *Interdicto* can be only a subst. here, as the part. is never used with a person.

—— 274. The *Casina* is a better example.

—— 4, 18. The Romans used *gallina* as we do *fowl*. In this place it seems to answer to our *barn-door fowl*, which Catus intimates might be used in a case of emergency, and as being rather old might be a little tough ; for the flesh of young animals, if cooked before it is let to grow cold, is always tender. It was probably only its head and neck that were plunged into the mulse in order to make it swallow some of it.

—— 6, 64. *Satis* is here i. q. *bene* : see on Sall. Cat. ii. 2.

Ep. i. 1, 6. See on Sall. Jug. lxxxv. 10 It was probably the Forum, not an amphitheatre (though that of Statilius Taurus was built at the time), that Horace had in his mind ; for this had always been the place of the gladiatorial shows : Cic. Phil. ix. 7 ; Sext. 58, 59. From this last it appears that on these occasions the Forum, was surrounded by railings or barriers (*cancellis*), behind which were probably seats as in a theatre : Ov. Am. iii. 2, 64.

—— 2, 7. *Barbariæ*, we need hardly say, is a dative. Our error arose from inattention, as in Virg. Geor. iii. 81.

—— 5, 6. *Arcesso* is sometimes to *fetch* or *bring with one*. *Senex in Ephesum hinc ibit aurum arcessere*, Plaut. Bac. ii. 3, 130 : comp. Cic. pro Cæl. 8 ; Phil. vi. 2.

—— 15, 36. See on Sall. Jug. lxxxv. 10.

Excursus I. p. 321, l. 3. Add *ubi*.

—— II. p. 323. "An id joco dixisti? Equidem serio ac vero ratus (sc. *sum*)," Plaut. Amph. iii. 3, 9, is also an ellipse of the first person, the verb. subst., but it may be explained the same way as Rud. ii. 4, 29.

—— III. p. 327. Müller, in the Addenda to his Varro,

THE END.

Ep. I. 13, 14, for *glomos* read *glomus*
 Page 91, l. 29, for *φιλῶι* read *φιλῆ*
 — 146, l. 2, for *Crotona* read *Croton*
 — 148, l. 4 from bottom, for *11* read *4*
 — 156, l. 10, for *sum* read *sim*
 — 316, l. 3 from bottom, for *o* read *o*

Past. iv. 82, for sola read solo
— v. 162, for capreis read Capreis
— vi. 277, for Arce read Arte
Page 163, l. 27, for Appia read Oppia
— 243, l. 8 from bottom, for Minucia, etc.
read Oppia, A. U. 268; Liv. ii. 42.

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